

States and Dynasties of Caucasia in the Formative Centuries

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This study appears as part II of Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), pp. 147-273.

[States and Dynasties of Caucasia in the Formative Centuries](#)

[Bibliography](#),
pp. 501-523

Maps appear as an attachment to the present document.

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1. The preceding Study was concerned with the historical background of Caucasian society; it dealt, accordingly, in some detail with the genesis and structure of that society, more particularly of its creative minority, the nobility, and in especial of the spearhead of the nobility, the group of the dynastic princes. It investigated also the ethos of this important and restricted group, a caste in fact, and its juridical status: the sovereign rights of the princes, who were, under the presidency of kings, the real rulers of Caucasia; their internationally recognized position of minor kings; the ethnopolitical self-sufficiency and self-determination of their States, of which Armenia and to a large extent also the other Caucasian countries were little more than federative unions; the dependence of the princes on other and greater monarchs; and the superadding of feudalistic features, resulting from this dependence, to the fundamentally dynastic régime of Caucasia. Here, it is proposed to consider this group in the concrete: to examine it, that is, as so many individual historical-genealogical-geographical (and often also ethnic) units. The preponderant role of the Caucasian dynastic aristocracy in the history of the formative centuries made, especially in Armenia, of this history, and of that of the following centuries as well, largely the history of these princely houses. This fully justifies our interest in this particular aspect of the Caucasian social development.

Owing to the nature and conditions of the sources at our disposal,¹ this study is chiefly, but not entirely, concerned with the Princes of Great Armenia. The imperial structure of the Armenian Monarchy, moreover, alone guarantees the pan-Caucasian character of our study. Many of these Armenian Princes came from the Iberian (East Georgian) and Albanian confines and were drawn within the orbit of the Artaxiad or Arsacid cosmocracy of Armenia; and, conversely, a number of Armenian dynasts found themselves at one time or another out of it and within the Iberian or the Albanian orbit.

A list of the princely dynasties of Armenia at the time of Justinian was drawn up by Adontz in his great book.² His achievement was impressive but left room for improvement. His list is incomplete, from the point of view of the present study at any rate, because he did not include in it the houses which left the Armenian orbit in the course of the third and fourth centuries; it is also inexact, because he introduced in it names that did not in fact designate any princely houses. His statistical conclusions and also his considerations of the military potential of the princes admit of a revision; and the

¹ I § 12, 18.

² *Armenija* 236-321.

precedence which he thought clearly indicated in the sources is in reality far less easy to discern. The present study, it is hoped, will supplement and correct Adontz.

2. Armenia and Iberia, as well no doubt as Colchis (West Georgia) and Albania, were immemorially divided into 'lands' or cantons that represented the territorialized tribes and clans which at the dawn of history had fused to produce the Caucasian nations. The Armenian lands were subsequently grouped together into a few provinces. It may be well to recall briefly the configuration of the lands so grouped: the three central groups, the inner, north of lake Van, called subsequently Ayrarat; the western, or Turuberan; and, divided from it, by the lake, the eastern, or Vaspurakan; as well as the circular zone round them formed, clockwise, by Gogarene in the north and then Otene, Arts'akh, Caspiane, Siunia inland west of it, Persarmenia, Adiabene, Gordyene, Moxoene inland north of it and just south of Van, the former Kingdom of Sophene, Upper Armenia, and Tayk'.³ The great majority of the princely States of Great Armenia were conterminous with 'lands': precisely as their dynasties were for the most part descended from the ancient rulers of the tribes and clans to which these territories had once belonged. There were States, however, that included entire provinces or at least several 'lands'; and while some dynasties accumulated several originally separate States, others formed secundo-genitures and tertio-genitures out of their original princedoms.

3. In listing the princes here, it is important to bear in mind that they ought to be divided, from the purely chronological point of view, into those of the Arsacid period and those of the post-Arsacid period. The formative centuries of Caucasian, and especially Armenian, history fall sharply into these two distinct phases. The cleavage between them was effected by a series of events that manifested the decline and fall of the Arsacid Monarchy of Great Armenia. The roots of this decline and fall reach far: to the juridical incompatibility of the Iranian and the Roman claims to Caucasia, stemming from the very nature of the inheritances invoked, the *pax achæmenia* and the *pax macedonica*, and to the practical necessity to control the area whence each imperial rival could make an easy thrust at the other's vulnerable parts: Ctesiphon, the 'Roman lake,' later Constantinople, — the area which did actually control in turn, the mountain passes, fortified, so the legend would have it, by Alexander himself for the protection of the civilized *οἰκουμένη* from the hyperborean inroads from beyond the Caucasus — the area, finally, from which control could be extended southwards to the boundary line that separated the two mutually exclusive cosmocracies.

³ I at nn. 226-227.

The *modus vivendi* between these as attempted at Rhandeia in the year of Grace 63 has already been mentioned in the preceding Study. But the balance of power it sought to achieve was never other than highly precarious. And, then, new developments upset it altogether. First, the Hellenized and philhellenic Arsacid Great Kings⁴ were overthrown early in the third century by a new dynasty, the Sassanids, who championed a neo-Achaemenian *renovatio* of Iran and who would no longer acquiesce in a settlement that set limits to their cosmocratic claims. At the same time, the dynastic condominium of several Arsacid lines, imperial, Armenian, Iberian, and Albanian, which in guaranteeing the family ascendancy of the Great King over the Caucasian kings offered him a compensation for whatever admission of the rights of Rome in Caucasia, was terminated, as something of a family feud came to separate the Caucasian royal houses from the Sassanid 'usurpers.' Finally, the religious developments of the time made the situation wholly irresolvable. 'New Iran' was committed to the religion of militant Mazdaism, whereas, within a century of its 'rebirth,' both the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Armenia, under Tiridates III, accepted Christianity. True enough, Sassanian diplomacy was successful in securing, at that very time, the throne of Iberia for a branch of the Iranian house of Mihrān, but the adoption soon thereafter of the Christian religion by the first Mihranid king, Mirian III, frustrated this move. The general facility of religious syncretism existed now no more than the Arsacid dynastic community; accordingly, no coexistence of 'New Rome' and 'New Iran' in Caucasia was possible.

The struggle of empires accompanying the accession of the Sassanids consisted of a long series of wars that were to end only with the destruction of the Iranian Monarchy in the seventh century; and it drove the Arsacids of Armenia into the arms of Rome. But, in this struggle, Rome too often proved a staff of broken reed. Twice she was the loser, in 244 and 260, which meant the rise of Iranian influence in Caucasia. Under Aurelian (270-275), however, her influence began to displace that of her rival in Armenia, Iberia, and Albania; and this was ratified, expressly with regard to Armenia, in 283. Then, under Diocletian, in the war of 296-297, Rome achieved a great victory: in the treaty of Nisibis of 298, concluded between Caesar Galerius and the Great King Narses, Iran ceded to her not only Armenia's Syrian March, once the Kingdom of Sophene, as well as Arzanene, the Arabian March, to be held in a special way, but also the suzerain rights over Iberia and, as is clear from the context, Armenia. Albania, on the other hand, appears to have passed into the Iranian sphere, where it is found by the middle of the fourth

⁴ 'Great King,' without any further qualification, applies here to the μέγας βασιλεύς *par excellence*: the emperor of Iran.

century. Colchis, the fourth Caucasian kingdom, had been reduced to a Roman province in the days of Nero, whatever occasional Iranian thrusts in its direction. The next war was begun by the first Christian Emperor shortly before his death. It dragged on intermittently until 363, when it ended in still another defeat of Rome. The foolhardiness of Julian was paid for by his successor, who had to retrocede to Iran the suzerain rights over the three kingdoms and also the special rights in Arzanene.⁵ However, within a decade, in 371, the Emperor Valens re-established Roman overlordship in Armenia; and he was also able to recover a half of Iberia, which as a result was split into two kingdoms, one, ephemeral and ending in 378, under Roman suzerainty, the other under Iranian. It had become obvious in the fourth century that division was the only possible solution of an otherwise unsolvable situation. It was thus tried first in Iberia; and it was resorted to, in the following decade, as a basis for a renewed *modus vivendi* between the two empires, at the expense of Armenia.

⁵ The chief source for the treaty of 298 is Peter the Patrician 14 (189), where it is question of the two Armenian Marches (for this, see *infra* at n. 63 and at nn. 87-92) and of the suzerain rights over Iberia (τὸν δὲ Ἰβηρίας βασιλέα τῆς οἰκείας βασιλείας τὰ σύμβολα Ῥωμαίοις ὀφείλειν); the suzerainty over Armenia is not specifically mentioned: this is asserted, as conceded here, in the statement of the Great King, reported by Amm. Marcell. 17.5.6. Peter also mentions a frontier settlement. Cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Empire* I 80 and, for the date, n. 73; Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 233; Asdourian, *Arm. u. Rom* 136-137; cf. also P. Peeters, 'L'intervention politique de Constance II dans la Grande Arménie, en 338,' reprinted in *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales* I (Brussels 1951) 233-237. — The treaty of 363 is given by Ammianus Marcellinus in 25.7. There is no direct reference to the giving up of Rome's suzerain rights over Armenia; but this is unmistakable in the clause in which Rome promises not to help the King of Armenia against Iran (Amm. Marcell. 25.7.12). There is no mention of Iberia there; but the cession of it to Iran is admitted by John Lydus 3.52-53. Cf. V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate* (Paris 1907) 10-11, 367-369; Stein 170-171, 186-187; Christensen 238-239; Asdourian 153-155. Stein follows Ammianus in omitting Iberia from the agenda of the treaty, exactly as he (in this, his early phase) follows the other's rather excessive admiration for Julian. Yet it appears indubitable that the fortunes of Iberia were at that moment bound to those of Armenia and that, once Rome had ceded her claims to the latter, she must also surrender, albeit tacitly, her suzerainty over the former, to the Great King of Iran. The replacement by the Great King, on the Iberian throne, of the Roman client Saurmaces with the Iranian client Aspacures, mentioned by Ammianus, 27.12, and by the Iberian historical tradition (V § 11 at nn. 99-109) was a natural outcome of the exchange of suzerainty over Iberia (cf. Peeters, 'Les débuts du christianisme en Géorgie d'après les sources hagiographiques,' AB 50 [1932] 39). It is difficult to see, in view of all this, how Ammianus can tax the Great King with perfidy (27.12.1 and 4) for establishing his control in Armenia and Iberia after 363, unless this be part of the theophanic microcosm's attitude towards the 'outside' (cf. I § 3). — Albania appears already by the mid-fourth century to have been in the Iranian sphere of influence: Trever, *Oë. po ist. Alb.* 188-198; and Ammianus himself (18.6.22; 19.2.3) shows the Albanians as allies of Iran in 359.

These imperial policies in Caucasia were aided by the internal tension between the Crown and the dynastic aristocracy. The attitude of the Caucasian Princes to the Crown has already been examined in the preceding Study; so have also been the attempts of the kings to become more than *primi inter pares*, presidents of dynastic federations, and the superimposition of feudal features upon a dynasticist society which resulted from these attempts. The balance between the Crown and the dynasts was one of tension and, therefore, delicate; and, in the course of the history of Armenia and Iberia, it was not seldom upset. The struggle that broke out at home would often become involved in the vaster conflict of empires raging outside. In the polarity of Rome-Iran, the Kings of Armenia and of Iberia gravitated towards the autocratic and bureaucratic Roman State, and this trend was now enhanced by the meta-political prestige of the Christian Emperors. Their princely vassals, on the other hand, though Christians, were drawn towards the aristocratic realm of the Sassanids. One of the internal crises began in 377/8, when the leader of the aristocracy, Manuel, Prince of the Mamikonids, expelled King Varazdat of Armenia and assumed the reins of government. The chief quarrel of the princes with Iran being religious, the Great King Sapor II's guarantee of religious freedom, as well as of political autonomy, to Armenia induced the Mamikonid government to recognize in 378/9, while the Roman Empire was paralyzed by the disaster of Adrianople, the suzerain rights of the Great King. Soon, however, the weakness of Sapor and his successors and the rise of the great Theodosius decided Manuel to transfer Armenia's allegiance back to the Empire. Restoring to the throne two Arsacid brothers, the co-Kings Arsaces III and Vologases, Manuel continued to rule until his death in 385/6. Thereafter, the cooperation of Crown and dynasts came to an end. Some of the princes revolted against Arsaces and appealed to Ctesiphon for another Arsacid as king. Varazdat's son Chosroes was then sent home by Sapor III at the head of an Iranian army and occupied the greater part of the kingdom, while the fleeing Arsaces found himself reduced to Upper Armenia on the Roman frontier, where Imperial troops offered him but weak protection. Armenia herself thus caused her own partition. Both the Emperor and the Great King eagerly seized upon this opportunity of achieving a peaceful settlement of their relations on the basis of the *fait accompli* of a self-divided apple of discord. In the peace of Acilisene (Ekeleats⁷) of 387 the existence of two Armenian kingdoms, one under Roman, the other under Iranian overlordship was ratified. But Iran received the lion's share, the eastern realm being at least five times larger than the combined territory of the western realm and the Sophenian lands kept by the Empire from 298. Faced with the barbarian pressure elsewhere and with internal troubles, the Christian Empire, a broken reed indeed, ceded to the chief enemy of Christendom an

important part of the *respublica christiana*. The whole of Iberia must by now have been abandoned to Iran. Albania had remained Iranian after 363.⁶

Political disintegration came in the wake of division. In the western realm, King Arsaces III died in 389/390; and the Emperor allowed him no successor. Thus, the several princes of the late King's obedience came under the immediate suzerainty of the Roman Emperor, exactly as had in 298 those of the Syrian March. But whereas the latter had no intermediary between the Emperor and themselves, the former were placed under a viceroy, styled *comes Armeniae* and residing at Theodosiopolis (Erzerum of today). This arrangement in both parts of Roman Armenia continued until the reign of Justinian I. In Iranian Armenia, called *Persarmenia* by the Byzantines, the Third Armenian Monarchy was allowed to continue for nearly half a century longer. The Crown weakened and the insubordination of the princes increased, as, with the connivance of the Court of Ctesiphon, one king after another was dethroned by them. The princes, finally grown weary of all authority above their own in Armenia, petitioned the Great King to abolish the very institution of the monarchy and to become their immediate overlord. Vahrām V, who could hardly have hoped for such a fulfilment of the Armenian policy of his house, hastened to accede to this request. In 428, he de-

⁶ The date of the partition of Armenia has been the subject of a learned polemic, and J. Doise, in his recent contribution to the controversy, 'Le partage de l'Arménie sous Théodose I^{er},' REAnc 47 (1945) 274-277, enumerates the various views on the problem. The date 387, proposed by N. H. Baynes, 'Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century,' EHR 25 (1910) 624-643, and accepted by Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 205-206 and S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge 1947) 6, is, to my mind, the only one that will stand the test of the combined evidence of the Byzantine and the Armenian sources. Doise's arguments in favour of 384, once accepted by Nöldeke and Markwart, as the date of the partition, are based on two assumptions: (1) that the date of the exchange of embassies between the Courts of Ctesiphon and Constantinople in which Stilicho took part — and Doise indeed successfully establishes that to have taken place in 384 — must be regarded as the date of the partition itself, which might have been the subject of these diplomatic conversations; and (2) that the date of the death of Manuel, Prince of the Mamikonids and Regent of Armenia, depends on that of the partition (p. 275). Actually, the diplomatic negotiations of 384, if they were concerned with the problem of partitioning Armenia, need not have coincided in time with that event: they may simply have settled that question in advance — exactly as that question had been raised still earlier, in 375 (Baynes, *op. cit.*, 641). The reproach of the Iranians that the Emperor had occupied territories in Armenia may, after all, have referred to the interference of Valens in that country a decade earlier. As for the date of Manuel's death, it can be established independently of the partition, on the basis of the sequence of events in Faustus, 5.37-44 (cf. Baynes, esp. 641-643), and it could not have occurred before 386. It was only after that event that Armenia was partitioned (Faustus 6.1; Baynes, *loc. cit.*). Whether or no this partition was ratified by Theodosius and Vahrām IV, Sapor's successor, in 389/390, is a matter of conjecture.

posed King Artaxias IV, deprived, moreover, the then head of the Armenian Church, St Isaac, of his position, and showered favours upon the princes. The Court of Iran was careful to respect their dynastic rights, and its suzerainty was expressed only by the presence, at the Armenian capital of Dvin, of the Great King's viceroy or *marzpān* and by their fealty and military aid. For the rest, the princes remained sovereign oligarchs of Armenia. With these events, the post-Arsacid period was ushered in to Caucasia.

Even though respecting the social and political *status quo* of their new dependency, the Iranian government attempted to Iranianize it culturally and even religiously. This provoked a number of insurrections, the most notable of which was that of 450-451, led by St Vardan II, Prince of the Mamikonids, in which he and a number of lords died for the faith. Out of these struggles was born a new solution, the institution of Presiding Princes, which both Iran and Rome resorted to, — an office which combined the functions of the High Constable, the commander-in-chief of the days of the monarchy, with those of the imperial viceroy and which was filled by one of the local princes.

Similar circumstances were to bring about, but some hundred and fifty years later, a similar development in Iberia, where the Mihranid (or, as it was called, Chosroid) Monarchy was, on the demand of the Iberian Princes, abolished by the Great King Hormizd IV in 580. In Albania, too, the monarchy had already fallen at the end of the fifth century. The institution of Presiding Princes then became the unitive socio-political element that guided the destinies of the Caucasian nations in the post-Arsacid period, while the empires kept struggling on, each attempting to spread its power to the other's sphere of influence. With the advent of Islam and the Caliph's succeeding the Great King as overlord of the greater part of Christian Caucasia, the institution of the Principate continued indeed, but the post-Arsacid period, and in fact the formative centuries of Christian Caucasian history themselves, came to a conclusion.

4. Now, of the princely houses, especially those of Great Armenia, some belonged to both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period, while others did not. Hence, in considering them, the following division is to be observed: (1) those houses which existed in both periods, (2) those which existed in the first period (and of course before), but not in the second, and (3) those which existed in the second, but not in the first period. The havoc wrought by history in Caucasian society, especially as the Arsacid Monarchy was foundering, tended to change rather considerably its composition. Numerous old races perished or passed out of the orbit of Great Armenia, while several offshoots of old houses appeared bearing new names. Keeping these distinctions in mind and combining the above Category 1 with either Category

2 or Category 3, we can arrive at the correct idea of the composition of the high nobility of Great Armenia at a given period. The sum total of all the known princely names does not, obviously, represent an historical reality.

The setting up of the Caliph's suzerainty in Christian Caucasia, in 653/4, which ushered in the new, Arab, period, resulted in more struggle — the highest point of this intermittent strife was the insurrection of the Armenian Princes against the Abbasid Caliphate in the years 771-772 which ended in the terrible defeat in the battle of Bagravandene of 25 April 772. — and, consequently, in more change. Not only did many races disappear or emigrate, but many others became weakened and dispossessed and even obliged to become vassals of some few which had retained their position and in fact enhanced it. The Arab period, accordingly, saw the rise of a new differentiation, one between the greater princes who alone bore the title of *išxan* — three of them ultimately reaching the royal status — and their vassals, the lesser princes, to whom was applied the title of *naxarar*. Then came, in the eleventh century, the ruthless destruction by the Byzantines and the Seljuqs of what remained of the polity and society of Great Armenia, of the several politically weakish, but culturally flourishing, kingdoms into which that country had become divided. This definitively dispersed and decimated the Armenian noble class. With the formation, in that century, of Armenia-in-Exile, in Cilicia, and with the increased migration of the aristocracy to both Georgia and Byzantium, the remnants of the Armenian social order vanished, after the Mongol invasions, from the Armenian soil.⁷

5. The only kind of feudal subordination of some princes to others prior to the Arab period was implied in the institution of the Vitaxates, or the four viceregal margraviates of Great Armenia. Their rulers, the Vitaxae, were indeed the greatest among the Princes, in three out of these four cases, they were themselves dynasts, their States forming the nucleus of each Vitaxate; and they were hereditarily invested with margravian powers. But the Vitaxate was essentially a feudal, rather than dynastic, institution, which was composed of a number of dynastic States, including the Vitaxa's own, that were bound together by a feudal kind of dependence upon him. It is important to distinguish, when dealing with these margravian viceroalties, not only between the two concentric and homonymous, but unequal unities: the nucleus and the march, but also, occasionally, between three such unities: the nucleal principdom, the province where other princely States might exist side by side with and in dependence on it, and the vicerealty which might on occasion outspread the province.

⁷ For this outline, see especially, Adontz, *Armenija*; Grousset, *Histoire*; Laurent, *Arménie*; Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.*; Asdourian, *Arm. u. Rom*; and IV.

Being different in nature from the rest of the princely States, the four Vitaxates will be examined first.⁸ All of them belonged only to the Arsacid, as well as the earlier, Artaxiad, period of Armenian history. The institution of the Vitaxates is connected with the expansion of the Second Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads, and in particular of the most celebrated Artaxiad monarch, Tigranes II the Great (95-56 B. C.). This empire-building effort entailed the conquest or subdual of several neighbouring kingdoms: Iberia, Albania, Media-Atropatene, Adiabene, Gordyene, Osrhoene, Commagene, and Sophene; or at least the annexation of some of their territories. So as to protect these conquests, and the Armenian nucleus itself, the Artaxiads set up four border viceroyalties composed of some newly-acquired regions.

The terminology of this office has varied. Plutarch, having mentioned βασιλεις δε πολλοι paying court to Tigranes the Great, refers in particular to four among them who remained in constant attendance on him.⁹ That this reference must be to the four Vitaxae, has already been considered. Sallust, it would seem, referred to them as tetrarchs.¹⁰ The Armenian term is *bdeax* or *bdešx* and its earliest appearance is in the documents of the Gregorian Cycle as well as in Faustus.¹¹ The Greek documents of the Gregorian Cycle render it as κομητατήσιος (= *comitalensis*), or ὁ τῆς κομητατησίας, and as πιτιάξης.¹² The Armenian Agathangelus uses also the descriptive word *sahmanakal*, which in the corresponding passage of the Greek Agathangelus is rendered as τοποκράτωρ.¹³ The Georgian term *pitiaxš* or *patiaxš* is first registered in the Pehlevi, Aramaic ('Armazic'), and Greek renderings in the Armazi inscriptions, as *bṭhšy*, *pyṭhš*, *bṭhš*, *bity'hš*, and *πιτιάξης*.¹⁴

No etymology of these Armeno-Georgian terms is absolutely certain. The most likely one is their derivation from the Old Persian **pa[i]ti-axši/a*, the first element of which signifies 'head' and the second is related to *xšayami*

⁸ I at nn. 90, 97, 211-212, and § 15.

⁹ *Lucullus* 21.5, cf. 21.2. For the unfavourable attitude of the Graeco-Roman authors towards Tigranes II, reflected in this passage of Plutarch, see I n. 87.

¹⁰ *Hist. fragm.* 4.8; see for this Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 175.

¹¹ Arm. Agath. 112/795, 126/873; Faustus 3.9, 12; 4.19, 50; 5.16; cf. also Lazarus cap. 33.

¹² Gk. Agath. 136; Gk. Life of St. Gregory 98 (72); cf. Arab. Life 86 (72: *byṭqs*).

¹³ Arm. Agath. 126/873; Gk. Agath. 165.

¹⁴ For the Greek term, see the sardonix intaglio with the effigy and inscription of the Vitaxa Aspaurucis from Grave 1 of the necropolis of the Vitaxae of Gogarene at Armazi: Ap'ak'ije, *Mcxeta* Tables I (1), XLV (1), fig. 4 (p. 29), pp. 26-27; — the silver platter from Grave 3: *ibid.* Table LV (1), fig. 26 (p. 63), pp. 60-63; — the bilingual stele from Grave 4: *ibid.* Tables LIX (3), LX, 69-72. — For the 'Armazic' term, see the bilingual stele from Grave 4 (just mentioned) and the Armazic stele from the same grave: *ibid.* Tables LIX (4), LXI, 72-73. — For the Pehlevi term, see the silver bowl from Grave 2: *infra* n. 30. Cf. also G. Ceret'eli, 'Ėpigrافیčeskie naxodki v Mxeta, drevnej stolice Gruzii,' VDI 1948/2 50-55; and, for the Armazi monuments in general, I n. 152.

('I rule'), *xšāyathiya* ('king'), the Sogdian *axšāvan*/*xšēvan* ('king'), and the Armenian *išxan* ('prince'); this combination is thus a parallel one to the Modern Persian term *pādšāh*.¹⁵ Other origins, however, have been proposed for them: Karst deduced them from the Sumerian *patesi*; Lap'anc'yan, from the Hittite *peda* ('place') and *haššu* ('king'), or the Luvian element *-ahš*.¹⁶ Whatever the origin of these terms, their variants, besides those already given, include the Pehlevi *bītāxš*, the Syriac *aptaḥšā*, the Greek *πντιάξης*, *πητιάξης*, *βιτάξης*, and the latter's Latin derivative *vitaxa*.¹⁷ It is interesting to note that the Georgian form is closer to the Old Persian than is the Armenian.¹⁸ The disinclination to show preference to any of the several Caucasian variants of the word is responsible for my choosing the single Latin rendering of it — 'vitaxa.'

Few things have suffered more from the incomprehension of scholars than the office of *vitaxa*. In treating of it, as it existed in Great Armenia, a clear distinction should be made between the provenance of the terms used to designate it and the provenance of the office itself. There is, accordingly, no reason to presume that the Armenian office was borrowed from Parthia or from the Sassanid State, merely because the terms *bdeaxš* and *patiaxš* may have been derived from **pa[i]li-axši/a* and are related to *bītāxš*. Yet this is precisely what is often done.¹⁹ The institution of super-governors or viceroys, placed in command of several governors, existed before the Parthian Arsacids, for we find it in the empire of the Achaemenids (*bēvarāpaitiš* or *toparch*), and was not restricted to Iran, for it was introduced into that of the Seleucids.²⁰ That the Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads, which borrowed from the latter the office of *strategus*,²¹ should likewise have borrowed from it the office of 'viceroy,' is hardly unexpected; and in fact it is precisely under the Artaxiads that the 'four kings' make their appearance.²² In the Arsacid period of Armenia, the newly-risen national literary monuments testify to the continued existence of the four viceroys, whom they entitle *vitaxae*²³ and to whom the royal title was occasionally applied.²⁴ In Great

¹⁵ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 178-179; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 155-156.

¹⁶ *Corpus juris* I/2/2 492; and 'O dvux social'no-političeskix terminax Bližnego Vostoka,' *Istor.-ligv. raboty* 467-470; cf. *Obščie člementy meždu Xett. i Arm.* 392.

¹⁷ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 178-179; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 155-156; Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 102 n.1.

¹⁸ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 178; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 155.

¹⁹ E. g. by Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 22-23.

²⁰ Ehtéšam, *Iran Achém.* 70-71, 114, 184; Bengtson, *Strategie* II 78-142.

²¹ I at nn. 92-98, 237-238.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Supra* nn. 11-12.

²⁴ Faustus 5.16 (216: chapter heading).

Armenia, these viceroys became, to repeat, margravia in character, the territories committed to their care being the four marches of the realm.²⁵ Agathangelus indeed explains the term *bdeašx* by the purely Armenian word *sahmanakal* or 'ruler of the frontier,' that is, 'margrave,' 'marcher.'²⁶ Moreover, exactly as the purely administrative office of strategus acquired, when transplanted on the dynastic soil of Caucasia, as *naxarar*, a purely feudal character that it signally lacked in the neighbouring empires, so also the administrative function of super-governor, borrowed from the same empires, became, on that soil, the feudal office of *bdeašx/patixš*.²⁷

What the original designation of the Armenian vitaxae was, we do not know. While contemporary Classical writers call them, as has been noted, Kings and Tetrarchs, the term 'vitaxa' is applied to them, in its various local variants, only in the national literary monuments, mostly in the Christian phase. The term at all events appears — *pace* Karst and Lap'anc'yan — to be indeed of Iranian origin; and it may well have been borrowed, subsequently to the institution of the office itself, from Iranian society. In exactly the same way, the Artaxiad strategus came subsequently to be designated by the Iranoid term *naxarar*.²⁸ The latter term was adopted in the Parthian phase of Caucasian history, which separated in the first three centuries after Christ the Hellenistic from the Christian phase. It was then that the Armenian Arsacids imitated the service mechanism of their cousins' Parthian realm. It would, accordingly, be natural to presume that the Iranian term for the vitaxa was likewise borrowed from Parthia in that epoch. There are, however, two facts that militate against this conjecture. First, there is no indication that either the office or the corresponding term existed in the Parthian State of the Arsacids. It is only under the early Sassanids that the presence of vitaxae in the polity is recorded.²⁹ The earliest source appears to be the inscription on a Sassanian silver bowl dating from A.D. 226/241, recently discovered in the Armazi necropolis near Mts'khet'a, in Iberia.³⁰

²⁵ I § 15.

²⁶ Arm. Agath. 126/873 (440); cf. Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 165 etc. (*Markhüter*).

²⁷ Cf. I n. 188 and at nn. 237-238, 90, 97, 211-212.

²⁸ *Ibid.* n. 188.

²⁹ Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 22-23, 137.

³⁰ This bowl was found in Grave 2 of the Armazi necropolis: Ap'ak'iĵe, *Mczeta* 52-53, Tables XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX. Its Pehlevi inscription has been interpreted by Amiranāšvili as *Papake btxše bag Artaxštr barh bage Papake lbtxše (ma)t Grzn Arsmes d(a)d* = 'Pāpak, vitaxa of the divine Ardašir, gives to the vitaxa of the land of Gurzān, Ars(a)mes': 'Serebrjanaja čaša rannesasanidskoj ėpoxi iz raskopok v Armazisxevi,' *Sbornik v čest' Akad. I. A. Orbeli* 283-293. This important discovery is also interesting as an indication of the distinction between the Iranian and the Iberian vitaxae (for the latter, see *infra* § 10-11), but also of their equivalence. The Great King Ardašir reigned from 226 to 241

Another is the Paikuli inscription of the Great King Narses of A.D. 293/294;³¹ still another, the text of Ammianus Marcellinus: 'sunt autem in omni Perside, hae regiones maximae, quas vitaxae (id est magistri equitum) curant, et reges et satrapae...'³² It has been suggested that only one of the eighteen provinces enumerated in this text — Assyria — was under a vitaxa, the rest being under dynasts (*reges*) or governors (*satrapae*).³³ Secondly, while the Armenian *bdeašx* and the Pehlevi *bītāxš* are indeed close to each other and represent a later derivation from the (presumable) Old Persian prototype, the Georgian *patiaxš/pitiaxš* is close to that prototype itself, and thus evidently pre-Parthian. We are faced, accordingly, with two alternatives: either the term that was known in Caucasia (Armenia and Iberia) from pre-Parthian times, as a direct derivative from the Old Persian, was subsequently, and only in Armenia, made to approximate to the contemporary Iranian usage, this being the early Sassanian or, the lack of documentary evidence notwithstanding, indeed Arsacid Parthian usage; else the Pehlevi *bītāxš*, whether it be regarded as early-Sassanian or late-Arsacid, was borrowed from Armenia, where *bdeašx* may have evolved locally from the prototypal Old Persian.³⁴ At all events, the more likely conjecture is that the basic terminology of the office, no less than the office itself, of the Caucasian Vitaxae originated under Achaemenian and Seleucid influences and independently of any influence from the Arsacid or the Sassanid polity. Accordingly, save for the relative identity of the terminology, the similarity of functions, and the probable community of provenance, there does not appear to have existed any direct connexion between the Caucasian and the Iranian Vitaxae. The distinction between these two parallel institutions has not, however, been always appreciated by specialists.³⁵

(Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 90, 179), so that this inscription must have been made sometime between these two dates.

³¹ Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 96-97, 100-101, and, for the dating, 194, 205. Here, obviously, another Vitaxa Pāpak is mentioned. ³² 23.6.14.

³³ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 172. The text, at all events, does not admit of the equation 'vitaxa = satrap,' as found in Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 137 n. 1, though not on p. 137 itself. Ammianus's interpretation of 'vitaxa' as *magister equitum* is highly approximative. It is to be noted in passing that much in Iranian social history of the Arsacid and (especially early) Sassanian periods remains unclear. Thus, e.g., the correlation of the offices of vitaxa, *marzpan*, and the four toparchs of Chosroes I still needs further elucidation; cf. Christensen, 102, 265-266, 370-371. It is, therefore, to say the least rash to translate, with Coulborn the *ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΩΝ* of the Great King Mithradates I's Bisutūn inscription (for which, see, e.g., Debevoise, *Parthia* 44) as 'marzban of marzbans': *Comp. Study of Feud.* 332.

³⁴ Cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 156; A. Meillet, in *REA* 5 (1925) 185-186; cf. *infra* § 6 at n. 49.

³⁵ So Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 271-273, 277, 284-285, who would see in one of the Vitaxae, the Iberian, an Iranian appointee (which is quite different from the fact that this hereditary

The basic texts for the four Caucasian Vitaxae, no less than for some of the Caucasian Princes, are the two lists of princes found in the documents of the Gregorian Cycle. One (List A) is found in all the documents of the cycle, that is, in its two recensions: the Agathangelus recension of the story of the conversion of Armenia by St Gregory the Illuminator, under King Tiridates III the Great, in 314, in both its Armenian and its Greek version, and also the recension that goes under the name of the Life of St Gregory, in both its Greek and its Arabic version. This is the list of the Armenian Princes who took part in a council convoked by King Tiridates and who subsequently accompanied St Gregory for his episcopal consecration in the Autumn of 314. The other list (List B), giving the names of the princes who accompanied Tiridates III on his trip to Rome, is found only in the two versions of the Agathangelus recension.³⁶ The following are these two lists.

LIST A

Arm. Agath. 112/795

... առաջին՝ իշխանն Անգեղ տան, երկրորդ՝ իշխանն Աղճնեաց,
որ է բղեաշխն մեծ. երրորդ՝ իշխանն մարդպետութեան իշխա-

Vitaxa of Great Armenia may, together with other princes, have accepted the immediate suzerainty of the Great King); this is repeated in Berjenišvili *et al.*, *Ist. Gruzii* I 101, 109. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 50, 78, 155, 229-230, 245, goes further still, adding to this confusion another one: the Vitaxa Pāpak of the Paikuli inscription is considered at once (a) a Sassanid prince, (b) a vitaxa of the Iberian March, and (c) a King of Iberia. — The rehabilitation of the documents of the Gregorian Cycle and the discovery of the Armazi inscriptions make superfluous Adontz's arguments against any suggestion that the Vitaxae of Great Armenia may have been modelled on the Sassanian toparchs. Adontz went too far when he insisted that the Vitaxae had been small kings that had fallen under the suzerainty of the Armenian Crown and that they had had nothing to do with any appointment on its part or any guardianship of frontiers: *Armenija* 283, 410-411, 416. It is curious that in so doing he failed even to refer to Markwart's great Excursus in *Ērānšahr*, which definitively shows that the guardianship of the frontiers was precisely the *raison d'être* of the Vitaxates. As for their being small kings, all Caucasian dynasts could in a sense be so regarded; cf. I. See *supra* n. 30, for the contemporary distinction between an Iranian and a Caucasian vitaxa.

³⁶ For the documents of the Gregorian cycle, see *Introd.* at n. 4; for the date of the Conversion of Armenia and the episcopal consecration of St Gregory, Ananian, *Data e circostanze*. The council is described in Gk Life of St Gregory 98-102; Arab. Life 86-90; and is briefly mentioned in Arm. Agath. 108/777-778; and in Gk Agath. 129. It is in this connexion that the Life gives List A. The Agathangelus, on the other hand, gives this list in connexion with the procession to Caesarea: Arm. Agath. 112/795; Gk Agath. 136. This, the Gk Life, 123-124, and the Arab. Life, 111-112, describe without giving the list. Garitte 306-307, 311-313, 315: it is the Agathangelus recension that places List A in the correct context. Yet the Life may be the more ancient recension: Ananian 317-324.

նութեանն, չորրորդ՝ իշխանն թագակապ իշխանութեան ասպետութեանն, հինգերորդ՝ իշխանն սպարապետութեան, զօրավար Հայոց աշխարհին. վեցերորդ՝ իշխանն Կորդովտաց աշխարհին, եօթներորդ՝ իշխանն ծովաց աշխարհին. ութերորդ՝ իշխանն Գուգարացաց աշխարհին, որ միւս անուանեալ բդեաշխն. իններորդ՝ իշխանն Ռշտունեաց աշխարհին. տասներորդ՝ իշխանն Մովաց աշխարհին. մետասաներորդ՝ իշխանն Սիւնեաց աշխարհին. երկոտասաներորդ՝ իշխանն Ծաւդէից աշխարհին. երեքտասաներորդ՝ իշխանն Ուտիացաց աշխարհին. չորեքտասաներորդ՝ իշխանն շահապ Զարաւանդեւ Հեր գաւառի. հնգետասաներորդ՝ իշխանն մաղխադութեան տանն. վեշտասաներորդ՝ իշխանն Արծրունեաց.³⁷

Gk Agath. 136

Καὶ πρῶτος ἄρχων Ἀγγελιτῶν οἶκον, ὁ δεύτερος ἄρχων Ἀλσενῶν, ὁ τῆς κομητατησίας, ὁ τρίτος ἄρχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας Πατρίκιος λεγόμενος, ὁ τέταρτος ἄρχων ὁ τὸ διάδημα ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπιδῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ λεγόμενος Ἀσπέτων, ὁ πέμπτος ἄρχων στρατοπεδάρχης στρατηλατικῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς Ἀρμενίων χώρας, ὁ ἕκτος ἄρχων ὁ τῆς Κορδοβιτῶν χώρας, ὁ ἑβδόμος ἄρχων ὁ ἕτερος κομητατήσιος · ὁ ὄγδοος ἄρχων τῆς Ῥουστινῶν χώρας, ὁ ἔννατος ἄρχων τῆς Κωμητῶν (rectius Μωκητῶν) χώρας · ὁ δέκατος ἄρχων τῆς Συνιστῶν χώρας, ὁ δωδέκατος ἄρχων ὁ Σουδέων χώρας, καὶ ὁ τρισκαιδέκατος ἄρχων ὁ τῆς < σ > Οὐτιῶν χώρας. Ὁ τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατος, ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ζαρουανδῶν καὶ Χε < κ > ρᾶς τῆς πατρίδος · ὁ πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος ἄρχων, ὁ τοῦ Μαλχασιῶν οἶκον · ὁ ἑξακαιδέκατος ἄρχων, ὁ Α[ρ]σουρουνῶν.

Gk Life of St Gregory 98

... ὁ πρῶτος ἐν ἀρχῇ Ἰνγίληνῆς καὶ Ἀντιστηνῆς τοπάγχης · ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῆς Ἀρζια[ν]η[ν]ῆς πιτιάξης ὁ μέγας · ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν Μέρδων τοπάγχης · ὁ δὲ τέταρτος γενεάρχης τῶν Ὀσπιτιανῶν ἐπάρχης ὅστις κα[τα]τεταγμένος ὑπῆρχεν φυλάττειν τὰ μέρη τῶν Κανκασίων ὁρέων καὶ Τζάνων · ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ὁ τῶν Μαμακουνιανῶν ἡγεμών, ἀσπαραπέτης, πάντας τῶν

³⁷ '... first, the Prince of Ingilene; second, the Prince of Arzanene, who is the Great Vitaxa; third, the Prince of the principedom of the Mardpet-dom; fourth, the Prince Coronant of the principedom of the Aspet-dom; fifth, the Prince of the Constable-dom, the commander of the country of the Armenians; sixth, the Prince of the country of Corduene; seventh, the Prince of the country of Sophene; eighth, the Prince of the country of Gogarene, who is called the Other Vitaxa; ninth, the Prince of the country of Rštuni; tenth, the Prince of the country of Moxoene; eleventh, the Prince of the country of Siunia; twelfth, the Prince of the country of Zabdicene; thirteenth, the Prince of the country of Otene; fourteenth, the Prince [and] chief of the land of Zarawand and Her; fifteenth, the Prince of the Małxaz-dom; sixteenth, the Prince of the Arcrunis.'

Ἀρμενίων ἱππότας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἔχων ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν στρατηγίαν, συνών τε αἰεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν πάντας τοὺς τε προηγουμένους καὶ ὑποταττομένους [...] ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν στρατηγίαν· ἔκτος δὲ ὁ τοπάρχης τῶν Κορδουανῶν χώρας οὕτω καλουμένης, πλησίον ὑπαρχούσης τῶν Ἀνδριοκοδρίτων· ὁ δὲ ἑβδομος ἐξουσιαστὴς τῆς Μεγάλης Σοφانهνῆς πλησιαζούσης τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ· ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἡγεμὼν τῶν Γουγαρῶν χώρας, ὅστις εἶχεν καὶ αὐτός ἀξίαν πιτιάξου· ἔννατος δὲ τῶν Ρουστουνίων τοπάρχης· ὁ δὲ δέκατος ὁ τῶν Μοκασῶν σατράπης· ὁ δὲ ἐνδέκατος ὁ τῶν Συνίων φύλαρχος· δωδέκατος δὲ ὁ τῶν Τζαυδέων στρατηγός· ὁ δὲ τρισκαιδέκατος ὁ σατράπης Ζαυραβανδῶν καὶ Χειρῶν χώρας, καὶ τούτων πλησίων τῶν Κοδρίτων· ὁ δὲ πεντεκαιδέκατος γενεάρχης ὁ τῶν Χουρχόρων ὡς ἡγούμενος ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν καλουμένην Μαλχαζόβε· ἑξακαιδέκατος ὁ τῶν Ἀρτζ[ρ]ουνίων ἐξουσιαστής.

Arab. Life 86

primus princeps 'lhbns. Secundus princeps 'rṭnwj nomine vitaxa magnus. Tertius princeps 'rmṭ'n. Quartus princeps 'sbytywn nomine 'sbyts, qui praepositus erat custodiae montium qwsywm et mṭznywn. Quintus princeps mqwny'nwn nomine 'sb'r'b'ts: hic autem praefectus erat exercitui totius Armeniae, equitum et peditum, nec discedebat a rege magnae Armeniae, atque in bellis omnes quos memoravimus principes, et memorabimus, sub eius potestate erant, praeterquam quod princeps qmrḍl non erat sub eius potestate, quae (regio) est iuxta fortes qrḍyṭn. Septimus regens magnae regionis ṣwīnys, quae est iuxta regionem fluminum. Octavus princeps regionis ḡurḡr. Nonus princeps rstnwn. Decimus princeps mfnṣwn. Undecimus princeps swnywn et custos. Duodecimus princeps dsbwḍ'wn. Decimus tertius princeps 'tywn. Decimus quartus princeps zwryḍwn, et ipse iuxta qrḍyṭn. Decimus quintus princeps ḥrhwrwnyws, dux, qui rector est mlḥ'zwn'h. Decimus sextus princeps 'rtzrwnyws.³⁸

LIST B

Arm. Agath. 126/873

Եւ ի զինուորական կողմանէն՝ զչորեսին գահերէցսն իւրոյ տաճարին, որ բռեաշխքն կոչին. զառաջին սահմանակալն ի Նոր Շիրական կողմանէն, և զերկրորդ սահմանակալն յԱսորեստանեայց կողմանէն, և զերրորդն՝ յԱրուստտան կողմանէն, զչորրդն՝ ի Մասքիթաց կողմանէն. զմեծ իշխանն Սնգեղ տան, և զթագագիր ասպետն, և զսպարապետն մեծ, և զիշխանն Մոկաց, և զիշխանն Սինեաց, և զիշխանն Ռշտունեաց, և զիշխանն Մաղխա-

³⁸ Garitte's translation: *Documents* 72-73.

դու[թեան տանն, և զհաւապն Շահապիւիւնի, և զիշխանն սպասկա-
պետու[թեանն].³⁹

Gk Agath. 165

... ὁ βασιλεὺς ... παραλαμβάνει ... τοὺς τέσσαρας τιμιωτάτους τοῦ ἰδίου
πολατίου, τὸν πρῶτον τοποκράτορα ἀπὸ Νορσιρέων μερῶν, τὸν δεύτερον
τοποκράτορα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίας μερῶν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρουαο-
τῶν μερῶν, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον τῶν Μασαχοῦ τῶν Οὐννων μερῶν, καὶ τὸν μέ-
γιστον ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου τῶν λεγομένων Ἀγγελιτῶν, καὶ τὸν στέφοντα τὸν
βασιλέα ἄρχοντα, Ἀσπετ λεγόμενον, καὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην τὸν μέγαν,
καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Μακितῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Συνιστῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα
Ῥεστουνιτῶν, καὶ ἀπογράφοντα ἄρχοντα, καὶ τὸν ἐθνάρχην Σαπιανῶν, καὶ
τὸν ἄρχοντα Πασκαπετέων ...⁴⁰

List A mentions only two Vitaxae; List B speaks of four. Finally, Faustus
also speaks of the four Vitaxae: ... ժի ի ծառայից նորա մեծ իշխանն
Աղանեաց, որ անուանեալ կոչէր բեհաշխն . որ էր ժի ի չորից, գահ-
երէց բարձերէց տաճարին արքունի.⁴¹ Throughout his work (espe-

³⁹ 'The King took along also from the military confines the four pre-eminent lords of his Court, called Vitaxae: the first — the margrave of the region of New Siracene; and the second — the margrave of the region of Assyria; the third — of the region of Arabia; the fourth — of the region of the *Mask't'k* [on this term, see *infra* n. 148]; the great Prince of Ingilene, and the Coronant-Aspet, and the great High Constable, and the Prince of Moxoene, and the Prince of Siunia, and the Prince of the Rštunis, and the Prince of the Małxaz-dom, and the chief of Šahapivan, and the Prince-Master of the Court.' The last two names denote offices: the commander of the King's camp at Šahapivan in Całkotn (for this: Faustus 4.15; cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien* 560-561) and the master or intendant of the Court; both must have been filled by princes; for the latter term, see Benveniste, *Remarques sur les composés arm.* 633 (lit. 'Grand Domestic'). For 'pre-eminent lords,' see *infra* n. 41.

⁴⁰ The above Greek rendering of *zišxann Małxazut'ean tann* (lit. 'the Prince of the house of the Małxaz-dom' in the preceding text) as *ἀπογράφοντα ἄρχοντα* is very curious. One may suppose this mistranslation to have been influenced by the proximity of *małxazut'iwn* and *magałat* ('parchment'). For comments on the names see Garitte, *Documents* 215, 199, 200-202, 225, 227-228, 219, 236-237, 233, 219-220, 234, 208, 231-232, 225, 235, 237, 213-214, 238, 238-239, 223, 204; my review of Garitte, in T 5 375-377 (correct the reading of *βασιλεοπάτωρ*). — The four versions complete one another (Garitte 312); thus, the passage of the Arab. Life on the [sixth] Prince of Corduene fills the lacuna in the corresponding passage of the Gk Life; both the Gk and the Arab. Life make it clear that the Sophene of the Arm. Agath. is Greater Sophene. The Gk Agath. omits Sophene, but continues the numeration of the princes notwithstanding, until it jumps from 'the tenth' to 'the twelfth'; the Gk Life omits Otene, but continues the numeration till it jumps from 'the thirteenth' to 'the fifteenth'. The Gk Agath. omits the name of Gogarene, but describes the 'Other Vitaxa.'

⁴¹ 3.9: 'one of his [*scil.* the King's] vassals, the great Prince of Arzanene, who was named vitaxa [and] who was one of the four pre-eminent lords of the royal Court.' 'Pre-eminent

cially in 4.50), Faustus mentions specifically only three: those of Arzanene, Gogarene and Adiabene, omitting him of the Syrian March. As will be seen, the four Vitaxates, mentioned in the above passages under varying names, were: the Median March, or Adiabene; the Syrian March, or Sophene; the Arabian March, or Arzanene; and the Moschic, that is, Iberian March, or Gogarene. Apart from the purely practical reasons for the formation of these four Vitaxates, their number, like that of the toparchies of Iran, was no doubt also a manifestation of the cosmocratic claims inherent in the theophanic monarchy of Armenia, the four limitrophe points symbolizing the Four Quarters of the World.⁴²

6. The Vitaxa of New Siracene (Nor Shirakan) is mentioned as first in List B in Agathangelus. The march over which he ruled was made of the Artaxiad acquisitions in the Kingdom of Adiabene, or at least of the Armenian lands bordering on it, as well as of the lands wrested by the Artaxiads from, or the Armenian territories marching upon, the Median kingdom of Atropatene; and it served as a bulwark of the Armenian Monarchy against, precisely, the latter State.⁴³ The region of New Siracene, within that Vitaxate, designated

lords' translates here *gaherēc' barjerēc'* (and *supra* n. 39 *gaherēc'* alone). In these terms, *gah* = 'throne' and *barj* = 'cushion,' both signifying, 'place' or 'grade,' and *erēc'* = *πρεσβύτερος*, thus: 'senior in grade, or in position.'

⁴² Cf. I at n. 97. — In spite of all the indications regarding the number of the Vitaxae, doubts have been expressed about it by Adontz and Markwart. Adontz, *Armenija* 416, writing long before Garitte's rehabilitation of the documents of the Gregorian Cycle, was distrustful of their evidence. As for Markwart, in *Ērānšahr* 109, he hesitated between three or four Vitaxae, but in one of his last works, 'Die Genealogie der Bagratiden und das Zeitalter des Mar Abas und Ps. Moses Xorenac'i,' Ca 6/2 (1930), 32-33, he felt justified in admitting only two, Arzanene and Gogarene, and in rejecting the evidence to the contrary of both Agathangelus and Faustus as 'false.' This is entirely unwarranted. Something more than an off-hand rejection is surely needed to convince one that Faustus actually 'invented,' in 5.40, the story of the defection of the Vitaxa of Adiabene (*infra* n. 54). Unfortunately, the great Armenologist's *Genealogie* displays far too often this rather cavalier attitude to historical material; cf. III/II *infra* n. 43.

⁴³ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 176, 178; *Südararmenien* 59*, 120, 378; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 229. One of the reasons why Markwart, in *Genealogie* 33, refused to accept the existence of the Vitaxa of Adiabene was that 'nur unter Tigranes d. Gr. war auch der König von Adiabene ein Vasall des Königs der Könige von Armenien.' This is evidently due to a confusion between (a) the non-Armenian kingdom of Adiabene, which, having been briefly included in the empire of Tigranes the Great, had ceased to exist long before the time of Agathangelus and Faustus, and (b) some Adiabenean, or merely border, territory that was held by the Armenian Crown and, together with some Median border territory, formed a march of Great Armenia. This confusion involves another, verbal one: between (a) Adiabene in the broad sense of the kingdom and (b) Adiabene in the narrow sense of the march (= Nor Širakan). Caucasian historical geography presents numerous instances of such toponymical ambivalence; cf. I n. 158. It is indeed odd that, in the face of the clear witness of both

as Adontz has suggested, the Adiabenean territories;⁴⁴ hence we may translate the Vitaxa's title as 'of Adiabene.' This particular region is mentioned in the *Primary History of Armenia*⁴⁵ and in the Agathangelus recension of the Gregorian Cycle.⁴⁶ The origin of this name is something of a mystery. Another toponym, 'Nihorakan,' connected with the Vitaxate in Faustus,⁴⁷ stood, according to Adontz, for the Median territories.⁴⁸ In spite of the composite nature of this margraviate, both Agathangelus and Faustus speak of the 'Vitaxa of New Siracene' only, and, in the latter source, Nihorakan appears as a mere dependency. It thus seems evident that 'New Siracene,' i.e., Adiabene, was the official title of the viceroyalty that guarded the Armenian State not, however, so much against Adiabene as against Media-Atropatene.

While, after the collapse of Tigranes the Great's imperial venture, Media soon ended by being absorbed by Iran, Adiabene was in 115, together with some other lands and under the name of Assyria, reduced by Trajan to a province of Rome. Assyria, however, was subsequently ceded by Hadrian to the Great King.⁴⁹ It was this province that Ammianus Marcellinus knew under the government of an Iranian vitaxa. Whatever the Armeno-Iranian interconnexion may be presumed in the development of the terms *bdeašx* and *bītāxš*, it is back to this adjacency of the Armenian Vitaxate of New Siracene and the Iranian Vitaxate of Assyria, both successors to the Kingdom of Adiabene, that it must unquestionably be traced.

Markwart has suggested that the Vitaxate of Adiabene was vested in the recently dispossessed Orontid dynasty of Sophene, more particularly its Artsruni branch [§ 12.8].⁵⁰ Indeed, some Orontid branches, doubtless those nearest to the last Sophenian kings, were transplanted by the Kings of Armenia from Sophene, which seems to have shown signs of insubordination, to the Median frontier of their realm.⁵¹ The low place assigned to so great

Agathangelus and Faustus, Markwart should at first have hesitated to admit that the viceroy of this march bore the title of Vitaxa and should subsequently have refused to admit the very existence of such a viceroy.

⁴⁴ *Armenija* 228-229.

⁴⁵ *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 14.

⁴⁶ *Arm. Agath.* 120/842; *Gk Agath.* 153 (*Νοσιτάγων* [rectius *Νοσιράκων*] γῆς).

⁴⁷ *Infra* n. 54.

⁴⁸ *Armenija* 228-229. These must have included the province of Persamenia (Parskahayk'), in which lay the princedoms of the Orontid branch of Zarehawan and Her [§ 13.23] and for which see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 259-261.

⁴⁹ Cf. Magie, *Roman Rule* 608-610; Debevoise, *Parthia* 230-231; Markwart, *Genealogie* 41-42.

⁵⁰ *Ērānšahr* 165, 176, 178; cf. **III/I** 35. For Markwart, to be sure, it is question of the 'House of Sophene' and not of the Orontids.

⁵¹ Whereas Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 176-177, assigns the transplanting of various members of the former royal house of Sophene to the Median frontier to the reign of Tigranes the

a house as that of Artsruni in List A of Agathangelus, and in Faustus, may be explained, precisely, by its being invested with the Vitaxate, so that the 'Artsruni' of the list may have designated only a cadet, the ruler of a secundo-geniture.⁵² It may be more than a coincidence, too, that the name of Artsruni comes to a sudden prominence in the later pages of Faustus⁵³ immediately after the defection of Adiabene from the Armenian Monarchy. Indeed, it is only in connexion with this passing from Armenian to Iranian suzerainty, following the Roman defeat of 363, that the Vitaxa of Adiabene is mentioned in Faustus.⁵⁴ This was a moment of the detachment from the Armenian Crown of a number of limitrophe principedoms and territories, including also the Vitaxates of Arzanene and of Gogarene.⁵⁵ Armenian control was reimposed, in connexion with the Emperor Valens's counter-offensive in Caucasia in 371, upon all these regions; but following the Romano-Iranian partition of Caucasia of 387 they once again, and definitively, escaped Armenian suzerainty.⁵⁶ By the sixth century, when we hear of it again, New Siracene, which must have lost its line of rulers already in 363, appears as a purely East Syrian territory, subject to the ecclesiastical control of the Metropolitan of Ninive⁵⁷ and, of course, to the political control of the Great King.

Among the regions comprised in the Vitaxate of Adiabene, Faustus mentions Mahkert-tun, Dassntrē, and Nihorakan.⁵⁸ The first-named land was a

Great, Adontz would place this event in the Arsacid period: *Armenija* 415 n. 1. For the reason of his tendency to ascribe Artaxiad events to the Arsacid period, see I at n. 175. The practice of conquering States to employ members of dynasties whose countries they annexed in viceregal positions elsewhere is a perennial one. As recently as in the reign of the last Emperor of Russia, Prince Alexander of Imeretia, descendant of the Bagratid Kings of Imeretia, dispossessed by Russia in 1810, was Governor General of Warsaw and Commander of the Warsaw military circumscription (1897-1900).

⁵² Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 176.

⁵³ 4.58, 59: with Meružan (= *Μετρωβονζάνης*, cf. III/I § 9, 13).

⁵⁴ 4.50: Բայց նախ այսմ զնաւոյ սկիզբն առնէին մեծամեծ աւագանին: Նախ բղաւլին Աղձնեաց, և Նոյր|չիրական բղեւջին, և Մահկերտ[տ]անն, և Նիհորականն, և Դասսընտրէին և ամենայն նախարարութիւն Աղձնեաց ('But to this defection the grandees were the first to give rise: in the first place, the Vitaxa of Arzanene and the Vitaxa of New Siracene, and Mahkert-tun, and Nihorakan, and Dassntrē, and the entire princely feudality of Arzanene').

⁵⁵ Faustus 4.50 (*supra* n. 54, for Arzanene; *infra* § 11, for Gogarene); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 225.

⁵⁶ For the recovery under King Pap: Faustus 5.9-19. While in 5.15 and 16 Faustus speaks of the Vitaxae of Gogarene and Arzanene, respectively, in connexion with the Armenian attempt at reconquest, in 5.9 he speaks only of the land and of the inhabitants of New Siracene. This would imply that the Vitaxae of the Median March had not survived their defection. — For an analysis of the historical events between 363 and 387, see Trever, *Oč. po isl. Alb.* 198-201; Adontz, *Armenija* 225-226.

⁵⁷ Bk. Lett. 41: քրիստոնեայ նոչիրականին ինչիւնէ նահանգ.

⁵⁸ 5.40 (*supra* n. 54). — For the Median March, see also Marwart, *Ērānšahr* 23-24, 109,

principality, mentioned in Agathangelus, which disappears from history at an early date.⁵⁹

7. The second Vitaxa on List B of Agathangelus is the 'Margrave of the region of Assyria (*Asorestaneayc*).'. This 'Assyrian' March Markwart has shown to have been in reality the Syrian March, that is, the bulwark of the Armenian Monarchy against the Seleucid Realm and Osroene, and to have been formed from the Kingdom of Sophene absorbed by the Artaxiads.⁶⁰ This territory was subsequently several times detached by Rome from Great Armenia. Following the defeat of Tigranes in 66 B. C., Pompey gave Sophene, first, to the defeated King's son, Tigranes the Younger, and, then, to Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia. In A.D. 54, the Romans installed the Emsan prince Sohaemus as King of Sophene. Finally, under Hadrian, Sophene appears to have been placed, together with (a part of), Gordyene, under the Roman governor of Cappadocia.⁶¹ Thereafter, however, the Sophenian lands reverted to the Armenian Crown; but, by the treaty of Nisibis of 298, they once again, and this time definitively, passed under the control of the Empire.⁶²

By the year 298, the former Kingdom of Sophene (without Odomantis and Acilisene north of the Arsanias) — the Syrian March — appeared divided into four princely States.⁶³ Situated south of the Arsanias, they were,

165-166, 169-171, 176, 178; *Südarmerien* 378-379; Adontz, *Armenija* 225-229; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 319-321. Makhert-tun = Syr. Bēθ-Māhqert, Dassntrē = Syr. Bēθ-Dāsen.

⁵⁹ Arm. Agath. 120/842 (*tambn Mahk'er[t]-lon išxanin*); Gk Agath. 153 (τοῦ οἴκου Μαχονερτων τοῦ ἀρχοντος). Agathangelus and Faustus differ in spelling this name (-k' - or -k-); both omit the extra *l*. See, for this principedom, Markwart, *Südarmerien* 378-379, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 320.

⁶⁰ *Ērānšahr* 171-172, 177-178. — For the confusion between 'Syrian' and 'Assyrian' in this connexion, see III/1 § 12.

⁶¹ Cf. Magie, *Roman Rule* 357-358, 375, 554, 1238; Debevoise, *Parthia* 73, 179; Markwart, *Südarmerien* 29*-30*, 117-119; *Ērānšahr* 177-178; *Genealogie* 41; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 215-218.

⁶² Cf. Asdourian, *Arm. u. Rom* 136-137; Adontz, *Armenija* 42-44; Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 181; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 219.

⁶³ Peter the Patrician 14 (189) mentions the passing under Roman control of Ingilene with Sophene, and (in the neighbouring march) of Arzanene with Corduene and Zabdicene (τὴν Ἰντιληνήν [rectius Ἰγγηληνήν] μετὰ Σοφηνῆς καὶ Ἀρζανηνήν μετὰ Καρδουηνῶν καὶ Ζαβδικηνῆς Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν). But his list is incomplete; and Amm. Marcell., 25.7.9, enumerates the following regions that were retroceded by Rome to Iran in 363: 'Arzanenam et Moxoenam et Zabdicenam, itidemque Rehimenam et Corduenam cum castellis quindecim...' Accordingly Peter fails to mention, in this other margraviate, Moxoene and Rehimene, the first of these being a dependency of Arzanene and the second of Zabdicene: Adontz, *Armenija* 42-43. In precisely the same way he appears to have dropped from his list Lesser Sophene and Anzitene. The latter was a dependency of Ingilene, and the two Sophenes could be easily confused. Hübschmann supposes that by 'Sophene' Peter meant precisely the Lesser, whereas the Greater he counted with Ingilene: *Ortsnamen* 219 n. 4. At

going from west to east, from the Euphrates to the Nymphius (a tributary of the Tigris): Lesser Sophene, Anzitene or Anzetene, Ingilene, and Greater Sophene or Sophanene; the dynasties of the last three States were Orontid branches,⁶⁴ very likely cadet ramifications of the House of Sophene, and as such left by the Artaxiads undisturbed in their appanages on the territory of the former kingdom, while closer relatives of the last kings were transplanted elsewhere. But the dynasty of Lesser Sophene, bearing the surname of Shahuni, may have been of a different origin. Its name is traced by some back to the patronymic *šah-uhi*, borne in the eighth century B. C. by a Hittite prince (or dynasty) reigning precisely in the western part of the later Kingdom of Sophene (Supa) and in Melitene. The House of Shahuni may, therefore, be presumed to have traced its descent, or at least derived its surname, from the Hittite house of Shah-uhi (the two names being in fact synonymous), and then to have imposed it upon the part of old Sophene where it reigned. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the dynasty received its name from the territory, which in turn had received its name from its one-time Hittite ruler (or rulers); in this case the Shahunis may well have been as Orontid as their neighbours in the Syrian March. If, moreover, the interpretation of the toponym 'Shahian Sophene' as 'Royal Sophene,' proposed by Markwart, be accepted, the probability of the Orontid origin of this house must become very high.⁶⁵

The chief, eponymous, fortress of Ingilene, and apparently of the entire March, was Angl, seemingly the Ingalawa of the Hittite records and afterwards the holy city of the Orontids and capital, under the name of Carcathio-certa, of their Sophenian kingdom.⁶⁶ It appears in the Armenian sources as a royal fortress on princely territory — a manifestation of one of the feudal

all events, both Anzitene and Lesser Sophene were known to Ptolemy, 5.12. 6, 8; cf. Adontz 32, 38.

⁶⁴ Adontz, *Armenija* 28-45; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 223-233, 294-305, 399; H. Gelzer, *Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis romani* (Leipzig 1890) 49 n. 959, 177-180; Markwart, *Ērān-šahr* 165-167, 170-172, 175-177; *Südarmenien* 41*, 50*, 65*, 20, 35-41, 49-50, 54, 67-75, 91-119, 552-553; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze* 4-5, 8-9, 16, 90-92, Maps I, II, IV; Garitte, *Documents* 199, 215-216, 234; Weissbach, 'Sophene,' RE 3 A/1 1015-1019; I at n. 240; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 225-232. Lesser Sophene was also known as 'Other Sophene' and, in connexion with the surname of its ruling house, 'Šahian Sophene' = *μικρὴ Τζοφερή* (sic: Gk Life of St Gregory 171[102]), *miws Cop'k'* (Faustus 4.4[81]), *Cop'k' šahēl* of *šahun[w]oc'* (Faustus 3.9.[32]; 4.24[149]). Anzitene was Anjit in Armenian; Ingilene, Angel-tun; and Greater Sophene, *mec Cop'k'*. — For the origin of the dynasties of these States, see III/I § 12, 15-16. — Amida and, doubtless, its district were under the direct sovereignty of Rome: cf., e.g., Chapot, *Euphrate* 323-326.

⁶⁵ III/I at nn. 112-113.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* § 12.

rights exercised by the Kings of Armenia with regard to their princely vassals.⁶⁷ As such it housed the royal treasures and the tombs of the ancient — Orontid — kings, and it was thus known as the Ostan.⁶⁸ Another important royal castle and treasure-house on princely territory was Bnabel, in Greater Sophene.⁶⁹ Both these castles, as well as several others, were the charge of the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia, the administration of these, the office of *ostikan*, being from of old conjoined with his own office.⁷⁰

The office of Grand Chamberlain or *hayr fagawori* ('the Kings' Father')⁷¹ was the equivalent of the Iranian office of *Ērān-ambārağad*,⁷² and Lazarus indeed refers to a holder of the latter office, Vēhdēn Shāhpuhr, as *senekapan ark'uni* ('royal chamberlain').⁷³ Like his Roman counterpart, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, rising at that time to great heights in the Imperial administrative system,⁷⁴ the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia was a eunuch.⁷⁵ In this respect the Court of Armenia was closer to that of the Emperor than to that of the Great King, for the Iranian office was not a monopoly of eunuchs; and the beautiful gem bearing the effigy of, precisely, Vēhdēn Shāhpuhr shows him in possession of well-trimmed whiskers.⁷⁶

The Grand Chamberlain was in charge of the King's treasures, fortresses, and wardrobe (where the regalia were kept).⁷⁷ His control of the wardrobe seems implicit in Faustus and suggested by the parallel of the Imperial Court. Being a eunuch, he must have been in charge of the royal apartments as well. Exactly as in the Empire, where several lesser officials were placed under the authority of the *praepositus*, such as the *primicerius sacri cubiculi*,

⁶⁷ I at n. 195.

⁶⁸ Faustus 4.24; 5.7 (*infra* at n. 117), 18. For *ostan*, signifying 'Court' or 'residence,' see I at n. 185.

⁶⁹ Faustus 3.12; 5.7 (*infra* at n. 117); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 41-42; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 296 n. 1, 297 n. 3, 310.

⁷⁰ Faustus 5. 7 (*infra* at n. 117); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 42. For the term *ostikan*, see Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 215; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 128; Adontz *loc. cit.*

⁷¹ Faustus 5.6: գգղակ [for the spelling of this name, see *infra* n. 118] մարդպետ, որ անուանեալ կոչէր ըստ գործոյն՝ հայր թագաւորին ('Glak the Mardpet [for this dignity see *infra* at n. 79], who for reason of his functions was called The King's Father').

⁷² Adontz, *Armenija* 448-449; for the Iranian office, Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 107-108, 215.

⁷³ Lazarus 34 (136). For the personage in question, see Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 288.

⁷⁴ Cf. J. Dunlap, *The Office of Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (New York 1924); L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1949) 96-98; W. Ensslin, 'Praepositus sacri cubiculi,' *RE Suppl.* 8 556-557.

⁷⁵ Faustus 4.14; 5.7 (*infra* at n. 117).

⁷⁶ This gem from the British Museum is reproduced in Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 79 (fig. 36); Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 288.

⁷⁷ Faustus 5.6, 7.

the *cubicularii*, etc., so also at the Court of Armenia, besides the *hayr*, there were the ordinary chamberlains or *senekapetk*.⁷⁸

The office of Grand Chamberlain was, moreover, conjoined with the dignity of *mardpet*,⁷⁹ so that the terms *hayrut' iwn* (Grand Chamberlainship) and *mardpetut' iwn* (Mardpet-dom) became synonymous.⁸⁰ The dignity in question was originally a gentilitia title which denoted the dynastic princes of the tribe of the Mardians. These represented a Caspio-Median or Ma(n)tianian-Mannaean enclave in Armenia, south of the Araxes and east of lake Van, with Mardastan, on the eastern shore of that lake, as their territory and as the nucleus of Mardpetakan, or the generality of the Mardpet's dominions that stretched from Van to Atropatene.⁸¹ The Greek Life of St Gregory refers to the Mardpet of the time as τῶν Μέρδων τοπάρχης.⁸² Quite obviously,

⁷⁸ Cf. e.g., Faustus 3.20 (60); 4.3 (78).

⁷⁹ Faustus 4.14 (*mardpet-hayr*); 5.6, 7 (*supra* n. 71; *infra* n. 117).

⁸⁰ Thus, while the Arm. Agath. 112/795 (403-404) refers to the *išxann mardpetut' ean* *išxanut' ean* ('Prince of the principedom of Mardpet-dom'), the Gk Agath. 136 calls him ἀρχὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας Πατρίκιος [= *hayr*] λεγόμενος (*supra* List A); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 448.

⁸¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 319, 416-417, 448; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 343-344, 541; Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 166-167; *Genealogie* 34-41; Garitte, *Documents* 224, 225; Weissbach, *Māgδοι*, RE 14/2 1649; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 185-186. — Like the Houses of Amatuni [§ 12.4] Mandakuni [§ 12.19], and Murac'an [n. 270], the Mardpets ruled over a territorialized remnant on the Armenian soil of the Caspio-Medians: Adontz 303-304, 321, 418-419; Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 136, 140; cf. Nikitine, *Kurdes* 8-12. Here mention may be made of Marr's theory about the Mardpets, put forward in connexion with his other theory on the common Japhetite origin of the Kurds and the Mards: cf. Nikitine 12-17. Marr connected the Arm. *kurt* ('castrato') with the ethnicon Kurd on the ground of the ancient Kurdish matriarchy and the cultic role of eunuchs in a matriarchal society; this connexion, accordingly, would explain the ascription of the status of eunuchs to the tribal chiefs of the related Mards. This too-ingenious construction is vitiated by the clear witness of both Faustus and Ammianus Marcellinus as to the later Mardpets' being indeed eunuchs: *infra* at nn. 117, 118. Another theory about the Mardpets may be briefly mentioned here. Quite recently, in 'Reznj ametist s izobraženiem caricy caric Denak,' *Sbornik v čest' Akad. I. A. Orbeli*, 379-385, V. G. Lukonin proposed a different reading to that of Herzfeld of the Pehlevi inscription on the Sassanian amethyst gem with the effigy of Ruvakan Vist, preserved in the Hermitage. In the phrase *rvakan wyst* (:) *sgd sty* or *sgt sp'dpty*, the last two words are translated by Herzfeld (*Paikuli* 75) as 'spahpat of Sogd.' Lukonin, on the other hand, proposed to read them as *mrtpty* (admitting the uncertainty of this reading, however) and to interpret them as denoting a hitherto unknown Iranian office of *mardpet*, a term connected with the Arm. *mard* ('battle,' 'war') and meaning commander of the armed forces. Accordingly the Armenian Mardpet was not the tribal chief of the Mards, but an Iranian office transplanted to Armenia! Next, through a possible association with the Aramaic *m'r* ('lady'), this dignity was understood to be *m'rty* + *pty*, i.e., 'head of ladies,' and so Grand Eunuch. This is too far-fetched to deserve a refutation.

⁸² 98 (72) (*supra* List A).

any identification of the series of eunuchs invested with a high Court function and bearing the title of *mardpet* with the dynasty of the Princes of the Mardians is difficult to accept. A dynasty of eunuchs is a contradiction in terms, not only physiologically, but, even if an avuncular succession, as in the case of the Nestorian Patriarchs or the one-time Greek Orthodox Metropolitans of Montenegro, be conjectured, also — and especially — psychologically, as totally out of keeping with the ethos of a proud and warlike nobility.⁸³ Yet, strange to say, scholars have not been wanting who somehow saw no difficulty in accepting the possibility of such a eunuch dynasty.⁸⁴ Of course, the only explanation is that the dynastic Mardpets must have become extinct at an early date and that their principality, having become a Crown property, was subsequently made an appanage of the Grand Chamberlains, who thus continued to use the old dynastic title of their predecessors.⁸⁵ The office of Grand Chamberlain did not survive the Arsacid Monarchy; and in the fifth century the Mardpet-dom, now divorced from that office, passed to the House of Artsruni [§ 12.8].⁸⁶

While the royal control was exercised by the Grand Chamberlain over the chief strongholds of Ingilene and Greater Sophene, these two States continued to be ruled by their own dynasties. And although in 298, in the Peace of Nisibis, the Syrian March fell under the aegis of the Roman Empire, the princes of its four States continued to participate in the life of Great Armenia. Accordingly, the documents of the Gregorian Cycle mention the Prince of Ingilene and Anzitene and the Prince of Sophene in the *entourage* of Tiridates the Great of Armenia;⁸⁷ while Faustus reveals the role played in Armenian affairs, under Tiridates's three immediate successors by the sovereigns of the two Sophenes and of Anzitene.⁸⁸ The fact that the Greek Life of St Gregory

⁸³ I § 17.

⁸⁴ Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 319-320, 448-449, 490; Kherumian, *Feodalité* 16-17

⁸⁵ This is indirectly borne out by a text in Ps. Moses, 2.7, where the story just outlined appears allegorized as the reduction by the King of Armenia of some Haykids, i.e., dynasts (I at n. 169), to the status of eunuchs who were, then, placed under the *hayr* ruling what, as can be seen from the text, amounted to the territory of Mardpetakan, i.e., from Atropatene to Čuaš and Naxčawan; cf. Markwart, *Genealogie* 36. This allegory of Ps. Moses must undoubtedly have influenced the scholarly curiosities just alluded to.

⁸⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 319-321. Adontz, of course assumes that the Arcrunis succeeded to the dynasty of the *hayr-mardpetk'*! Markwart, on the other hand, is unaware of the fact that the Mardpets of the fifth century were already of the House of Arcruni; *Genealogie* 36.

⁸⁷ Arm. Agath. 112/795 (403-404); 126/873 (440); Gk Agath. 136, 165; Gk Life of St. Gregory 98 (72-73) (*supra* Lists A and B).

⁸⁸ Among the princes sent by Chosroes III of Armenia against the Vitaxa of Arzanene were: Mar, Prince of Greater Sophene and Nerseh, Prince of Šahian Sophene: 39. — At

in its version of List A shows Ingilene and Anzitene under one and the same prince; that the Agathangelus version of that list mentions this prince as of Ingilene only; and that, on the other hand, Faustus, as has just been noted, speaks of the Princes of Anzitene, and not of Ingilene,⁸⁹ may indicate the union of the two lands under one sovereign, who may have been, consequently, referred to by one or the other of his titles.⁹⁰ To this we shall return presently. This participation of the princes of the Syrian March in the life of Great Armenia after the Treaty of 298 can be explained by the close alliance of that country with the Roman Empire which was inaugurated by Tiridates the Great.⁹¹ However, after the Treaty of 363, the connexion of these princes with the Crown of Armenia must have been severed; and Faustus records the attempts, made in 371, to re-impose Armenian suzerainty over them. Nevertheless, these States remained severed from the Armenian Crown and in the orbit of the Empire; and in the latter half of the fifth century, the leaders of the Armenian insurrection against Iran appealed for aid to the Princes of Ingilene and of Sophene, along with the Emperor and the other princes detached from Armenia, as to foreign powers.⁹²

The princely houses of the former Syrian March continued to flourish in the Roman Empire as *civitates foederatae*: fully sovereign States under the Emperor's suzerainty. Their complete autonomy under Roman protection, their status of lesser kings, and the regalia received by them from their imperial suzerain have already been examined.⁹³ About the year 377/8, or possibly in 387, two more dynasties, reigning in the northern part of the

the accession of Tigranes VII are mentioned: the Great Seneschal of Armenia, Vałarš, Prince of Anzitene, Zareh, Prince of Greater Sophene, and Varaz Šahuni, Prince of [Lesser] Sophene: 3.12. — Accompanying St Nerses to Caesarea: Daniel, Prince of Greater Sophene: 4.4. — Abandoning Arsaces II in 363: Sałamut, Prince of Anzitene and the Prince of Greater Sophene: 4.50. — For the office of Seneschal (*hazarapet*), later vested in the Orontid house of Gnuni, see § 12.14.

⁸⁹ Faustus, indeed, does mention a Prince of Ingilene, but in a different sense, as will be seen *infra* § 8.

⁹⁰ Thus, e.g., Faustus speaks of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan, Prince of Siracene and of Aršaruni' (3.11), of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan' *tout court* (3.16), of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan, *nahapet* (for this title, see I at n. 185) of Aršaruni' (3.21), and of 'Aršawir, Prince of Siracene and Aršaruni' (4.4); Lazarus, on his part, speaks of another 'Aršawir Kamsarakan' (34), of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan, Lord of Aršaruni' (63), of 'Aršawir Kamsarakan, Prince of Aršaruni' (35), of 'Aršawir, Lord of Aršaruni' (23), of 'Aršawir, Prince of Aršaruni' (30), of 'Nerseh Kamsarakan [Aršawir's son], Lord of Siracene' (73), of 'Nerseh Kamsarakan, Prince of Siracene' (68).

⁹¹ Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 80 and n. 73; Asdourian, *Arm. u. Rom* 127-157; Grousset, *Histoire* 113-143; Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 185.

⁹² Lazarus 33.

⁹³ I at nn. 230-235.

Arsanias valley and never included in that march, were added to their number.⁹⁴ One was that of the Princes of Asthianene, whose land had been an appanage of Arsacid cadets, and so undoubtedly themselves an Arsacid branch, bearing the surname of Kaminakan.⁹⁵ The other was that of the Princes of Balabitene or Belabitene, dynasts of the territorialized remnant of the Pala or Bala people of Hittite times.⁹⁶ Although Anzitene appears as constituting, by the mid-fifth century, a separate episcopal see, and though it always was ethnically distinct from its neighbours,⁹⁷ it must have continued to form one dynastic unit with Ingilene; this is clear from the fact that Procopius speaks of five, not six, trans-Euphratensian Armenian princes⁹⁸ and that Justinian I refers in his legal enactments once, indeed, to Anzitene and Ingilene, but at another time, echoing the usage of Faustus, to Anzitene alone.⁹⁹ This Pentarchy of vassal princes reigning in six principalities on the territory which in the Roman Empire came to be called Other Armenia was officially designated in Roman documents as *satrapiae* or *gentes*/ἔθνη.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Adontz, *Armenija* 44-45; but, for the date, see also Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 289 n. 5 (= 290).

⁹⁵ Ps. Moses 2.8, 22, 62; 3.22, 31; and, for the surname, Faustus 3.7, 12. This house also figures in Lazarus 33 (134), among the now foreign princes to whom the Armenian insurgents appealed for aid in the mid-fifth century (cf. *supra* n. 92). — For Asthianene = Arm. Haš-teank', see Adontz, *Armenija* 29-30, 42, 44-45; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 291-293; Baumgartner in *RE* 2 1789; Gelzer, *Georg. Cypr.* n. 464, p. 49, 182-183; Garitte, *Documents* 205; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 231.

⁹⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 29-30, 42, 44-45; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 294, 412; Lap'anc'yan *Xajasa* 127-132; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 232. Balabitene = Arm. Balahovit. — This house is not mentioned in any Armenian sources.

⁹⁷ Besides Gaiumas Inseles/Inreles = Ingeles there was, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, also Maras Azetiniensis: Mansi 7 403; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 39. For the ethnic separateness of Anzitene, see Adontz 31. As has been noted, *supra* n. 63, Anzitene is a separate land in Ptolemy. This, of course, in no way militates against its being dynastically united with Ingilene. Precisely in the same way two quite distinct lands, Tayk' and Tarawn were dynastically united under the Mamikonids, each, moreover, having its own bishop.

⁹⁸ *De aed.* 3.1.17: τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἥπερ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ οὕσα διήκει ἐς Ἀμιδαν πόλιν, σατράπαι ἐφειστήκεισαν Ἀρμένιοι πέντε... Adontz offers an elaborate explanation for this (according to him) mistake in Procopius's calculation: *Armenija* 42-44.

⁹⁹ *Cod. Just.* 1.29.5: '... Magnam Armeniam, quae interior dicebatur et gentes: Anzetnam videlicet, Ingilenam, Asthianenam, Sophenam, Sophanenam, in qua est Martyropolis, Balabitenam...'; — Nov. 31: ...τῶν ἐθνῶν ... Τζοφανηνή τε καὶ Ἀνζητηνὴ καὶ Τζοφανή, καὶ Ἀσθιανηνή καὶ Βαλαβιτηνὴ καλουμένη καὶ ὑπὸ σατράπαις οὕσα (see, for the emendation of this text, Adontz, *Armenija* 29 n. 1). Cf. *infra* n. 107.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. I at nn. 230-235. — The term 'satrap' applied by the Roman government to the trans-Euphratensian Princes is a misnomer: I n. 188. And although Justinian is correct in stating that ἀρχῆς δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἦν οὐδὲ Ῥωμαϊκὸν οὐδὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτέρας πολιτείας εἰσηνεγμένον (Nov. 31), this term was equally foreign to the Ar-

The Pentarchy, however, was not destined to coexist for long with the Byzantine cosmocracy. As a punishment for their complicity in the revolt of Illus, the Pentarchs, with the exception of the Prince of Balabithene (the least important among them), saw their sovereign rights curtailed in 488 by the Emperor Zeno, to the extent of the abolition of the hereditary succession hitherto followed by them. So, at least, Procopius;¹⁰¹ but we may suspect that these were but high words expressive of the perennial cosmocratic claims of the Imperial *οικονομική* which made it tend to regard all vassal sovereigns as mere officials of the Emperor; and that, in actual reality, it was merely a tightening, or just introduction, of the Imperial control over the princely succession, which lent colour to such claims.¹⁰² It appears likely, moreover, that Zeno's vengeance entailed something else, and that the Pentarchs were reduced from the status of *civitates foederatae* to that of *civitates stipendiariae*.¹⁰³

menian polity, and it was only in the Roman Empire that these princes were so denominated. It is, therefore, perhaps not altogether exact to state, with Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 471, that with the dispossession of these princes (*infra* at n. 108) 'le titre de satrape s'éteignit après avoir existé *sans interruption* depuis le VI^e siècle avant J.-C.' (italics mine). The origin of this Roman usage remains obscure: cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 185; Adontz, *Armenija* 41. But it manifested the cosmocratic claims of a totalitarian State for which, see *infra* n. 102. The name 'Gentiles' is also suggestive, for it demonstrates the complete political autonomy of these princes: they did not belong to the theophanic microcosm of the Empire which claimed to be New Jerusalem no less than New Rome: cf. R. J. H. Jenkins, ed., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De Administrando Imperio* II: Commentary (London 1962) 11 (P/15).

¹⁰¹ *De aed.* 3.1.25-28.

¹⁰² Cf. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee* (2nd. ed. Darmstadt 1956) 192 ('Die Beliehenen sind in byzantinischer Betrachtung gewissermassen Statthalter, die für "Rom" das Land verwalten'); W. Ensslin, 'The Emperor and the Imperial Administration,' in N. Baynes and H. Moss, *Byzantium* (Oxford 1948) 273 ('other Christian princes could be, as it were, only the representatives of the Christ-loving Emperor'); L. Bréhier, *Institutions* 282-300. A weaker and reduced Empire, of the neo-Hellenistic ('middle Byzantine') phase, adopted the milder fiction of the Emperor's headship of the 'pneumatic' family of Christian Princes: Treitinger 195-196; and especially, F. Dölger, 'Die "Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter,' 'Die mittelalterliche "Familie der Fürsten und Völker" und der Bulgarenherrscher,' 'Der Bulgarenherrscher als geistlicher Sohn des byzantinischen Kaisers,' reprinted in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal 1953). One is reminded of the similar cosmocratic claims of the Mongol Khans, which made them treat the succession of their Rurikid vassals in Rus' as a matter of 'appointment.'

¹⁰³ Whereas an Imperial decree of 387, addressed to Gaddana, Prince (*satrapes*, cf. *supra* n. 100) of Greater Sophene or Sophanene (*Cod. Theod.* 12.13.6), stressed the voluntary nature of the *aurum coronarium* expected of the trans-Euphratensian Princes (as *civitates foederatae*), Gaddana's successor, Theodore of Greater Sophene, is reported by Procopius to have, together with the people of Martyropolis, surrendered to the Great King in 502 the public taxes of two years (*φόρους τε τοὺς δημοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν ἐν χεραῖν ἔχοντες*): *De aed.* 3.2.6. Adontz suggests that, unless the *φόροι δημοσίοι* of Procopius be considered

The end came in the reign of Justinian I. There exists no one official instrument whereby the fact of the dispossession of the five dynasties and of the annexation of their six States is expressly proclaimed, but there are a series of Imperial enactments the combined effect of which is tantamount to precisely that. First, from 528, a new office was created, that of *magister militum per Armeniam et Pontum Polemoniacum et gentes*, residing at Theodosiopolis and placed in command of the Imperial armies stationed in these three territories, the last named of which comprised, as the Emperor himself specifies,¹⁰⁴ the six trans-Euphratensian princedoms. Under the Master of Soldiers stood the *duces*, notably the two *duces in gentes*, one commanding the Imperial forces at Citharizon in Asthianene and the other at Martyropolis in Greater Sophene.¹⁰⁵ This enactment quashed with a stroke of the pen at least two of the princely privileges: the immunity from Imperial garrisons and the right to maintain armed forces.¹⁰⁶ Next, Novel 31, of 18 March 536, concerned with the administrative reorganization of the Armenian territories of the Empire, announced, *inter alia*, the transformation of the *ἔθνη/gentes* into a new province, Fourth Armenia, replacing the five trans-Euphratensian lands which had 'hitherto been under satraps,' and were now to be administered by a *consularis* residing at the metropolis of this new province, Martyropolis. This preconized the dispossession of the Pentarchs, the abolition of their sovereign rights, the end of the Pentarchy.¹⁰⁷ Having destroyed the political, public, power of the Armenian Princes under his aegis, Justinian proceeded to attack their position, the sole position which was left to them by their 'mediatization,' as holders of private domains. By Edict 3, of 23 July 535, Novel 21, of 18 March 536, and Novel 118, of 543, he proclaimed abrogated the traditional Armenian system of agnatic and constitutionally preordained succession and, instead, enforced upon his Armenian subjects the system of cognatic inheritance. This was bound to break up the great 'genearchic' landholdings of the 'mediatized' princes and so to weaken these former sover-

as a rendering of *aurum coronarium*, a reduction in status is implied, which he connects with Zeno: *Armenija* 113-116. This reduction amounted to the abolition of one of the immunities enjoyed by these vassal princes — from Imperial taxation: I at n. 232.

¹⁰⁴ *Cod. Just.* 1.29.5; cf. *supra* n. 99.

¹⁰⁵ *Cod. Just.* 1.29.5; also Procopius, *De aed.* 3.1.28-29; 3.2, 3; Malalas, *Chron.* 429-430; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 131-152; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 289-291.

¹⁰⁶ I at n. 232; cf. Procopius, *De aed.* 3.1.24, 27-28. Thus, the Armenian Princes appear to have enjoyed greater rights in the Roman Empire than, earlier, in the Kingdom of Great Armenia, where the king had the right to install garrisons in some castles on princely territory: *supra* at n. 67.

¹⁰⁷ *Supra* n. 99; also Procopius, *De aed.* 3.1.28 (who telescopes the two enactments, this and that of 528, into one act: 'Ιουστινιανός βασιλεύς τὸ μὲν τῶν σατραπῶν ὄνομα ἐξήλασεν ἐνθὲνδε εὐθύς, δοῦκας δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους δύο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπέστησε τούτοις);

eigns.¹⁰⁸ Thus crushed under the weight of 'Roman friendship' the Pentarchs disappeared from history. The law concerning the administrative reorganization of Armenia, of 18 March 546, speaks of pentarchal rule as a thing of the past and, indeed, the first attack on the private property of the princes, which could only follow the loss by them of their public power, occurred in 535. The end of the Pentarchy must, therefore, lie between 528 and 535; and most likely in connexion with the end of the First Persian War, in 532, when Justinian's hands were free to enforce his will upon the populations of the eastern frontier of the Empire. At least, the embassy sent in 539¹⁰⁹ by the Armenian Princes to the Great King asserted that the Emperor had begun interfering with their rights upon the conclusion of the 'Eternal Peace.' It is true, of course, that the embassy in question came from the princes of Inner Armenia and not those of the trans-Euphratensian lands, but, as has been seen, all of Justinian's enactments concerning Armenia dealt at once with both these Armenian regions.¹¹⁰

8. The sources at our disposal do not indicate explicitly who was invested, while the Syrian March of the Armenian Monarchy was in existence, with the office of the vitaxa of that march. The text of Peter the Patrician regarding the acquisition of that march by Rome in 298 indicates that Sophene depended on Ingilene,¹¹¹ or, at all events, that the latter was the leading State

cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 157-176; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 471; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 344. — It may be remarked that, when Justinian is concerned, as in the act of 528, with the new military organization of the trans-Euphratensian lands, he refers to all the six of them, but that, in dealing with the new administration, he has in mind only the five princely governments replaced by it.

¹⁰⁸ Adontz, *Armenija* 179-198; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 470-472; Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* II 345; cf. I nn. 206, 209. In Novel 118, Justinian notes also the absence of testamentary dispositions among the Armenians. This is quite natural, for the *γενηαρχικά χωρία* constituted the dynastic domains of the recently 'mediatized' princes; as such, being but lately connected with the exercise of public power, they were succeeded to in accordance with the right of birth and not inherited in accordance with one's will: cf. Adontz 195-196. Justinian's vehemence in suppressing all this was caused, undoubtedly, by a totalitarian's desire for uniformity and dislike of any form of aristocratic independence: cf. *ibid.* 196-198. It would probably be an over-estimation of Justinian's delicacy of feeling to suppose that he intentionally abstained from overtly proclaiming by one legal act this wholly unjustifiable breaking of the *foedus* of the Empire and its sovereign vassals.

¹⁰⁹ For the date of the embassy (given wrongly by Adontz as of 532: *Armenija* 175), see Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3.56 (13th year of Justinian); cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 364.

¹¹⁰ Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3.28-53. It is true that the princes referred specifically to new taxation, which was contrary to previous agreements; but that, after all, was a salient outcome of their 'mediatization'; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 111-113. For Inner Armenia, see *infra* § 12 at nn. 208-219.

¹¹¹ *Supra* n. 63; cf. Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 171-172.

in the march. And this may indeed suggest that it was the Prince of Ingilene and Anzitene who was, at least until 298, invested with the vitaxate.¹¹² His control of two principalities would provide an easy explanation of his pre-eminence. On the other hand, the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia, controlling in his quality of *ostikan* the most important strongholds of the march, including what had once been the capital of the Kingdom of Sophene, appears to have been, at least after 298, the natural viceroy of the region. After that date, the fortresses of Angl and Bnabel seem to have escaped Roman control and remained with the King of Armenia; this, at least, is what is clear from the text of Faustus.¹¹³ Very possibly, Roman control concerned only princely territory and the Armeno-Roman *modus vivendi* exempted from it the royal fortresses. In this case, what was left of the Syrian March after 298 must have come completely under the *ostikan*'s authority. Accordingly, unless it be assumed that the investiture of the Prince of Ingilene with the Syrian vicereignty is insufficiently indicated and that consequently it may always, for fear of the Orontid branches surviving on its territory, have been in the hands of appointed officials, the year of the Peace of Nisibis must be regarded as the *terminus a quo* of the Grand Chamberlain's connexion with this margraviate, the Prince of Ingilene and Anzitene being unable after that date, as a Roman vassal, to fulfill the functions implied in this office. In Agathangelus, at any rate, the Prince of Ingilene and the Syrian Vitaxa are mentioned side by side as two different persons.¹¹⁴ The fact that the Syrian Vitaxa is never again, after Agathangelus, heard of in the early historical writings concerning Armenia may be explained by the supposition that the changes of 298 reduced the territory under his jurisdiction to but a few royal castles and that, as a consequence, the office itself lost its original importance and was eventually absorbed in that of *ostikan*, the latter implying as it did, precisely, the control of those castles. At all events, the office of Grand Chamberlain in conjunction with that of *ostikan* and with the Mardpet-dom must have outshone what remained of the position of the Syrian Vitaxa.¹¹⁵

¹¹² *Ibid.* Markwart thought, without sufficient reason, that it was rather the Prince of Sahian Sophene who was the Vitaxa. This was, doubtless, due to his interpretation of the toponym; for this, *supra* at n. 65.

¹¹³ 3.12; 5.7 (*infra* at n. 117).

¹¹⁴ Arm. Agath. 126/873 (440); Gk Agath. 165 (*supra* List B).

¹¹⁵ Faustus's text (3.9; *supra* at n. 41) on the pre-eminence of the four Vitaxae at the Court of Armenia need not be taken in an exclusive sense. This is precisely what Adontz does, *Armenija* 283, and then proceeds to express his puzzlement as to how the four Vitaxae could all have had the first place. Obviously, Faustus is not to be taken here *au pied de la lettre*. List A of the Gregorian Cycle shows very clearly that the greater princes could take precedence of the Vitaxae. Thus, on that list, the Prince of Arzanene, who was Vitaxa of the Arabian March, is preceded by the Prince of Ingilene, who was no longer the Syrian

Modern historiography has displayed a tendency to confuse the Princes of Ingilene and the Grand Chamberlains.¹¹⁶ This confusion is due to two facts: first, the fact that the Grand Chamberlains held the office of *ostikan* of Angl, the chief fortress of Ingilene, and, secondly, the fact that one of the incumbents of these offices, Drastamat, Grand Chamberlain of Armenia under Tigranes (Tiran) VII (339-350) and Arsaces II (350-367), was given the title of Prince of Ingilene. This is related by Faustus in the following terms:

Եւ էր ներքինի մի Հայոց թագաւորին Արշակայ, ոստիկան հաւատարիմ լեալ, ներքինի սիրելի մեծի իշխանութեան և մեծի պատուի, և անուն Դրաստամատն ... Իսկ Դրաստամատն ներքինին, որ յամս Տիրանայ թագաւորին Հայոց և Արշակայ որդւոյ նորա թագաւորին Հայոց լեալ էր իշխան տան գաւառին և հաւատարիմ գանձուց Անգեղ բերդին, և ամենայն բերդացն արքունի՝ որ ի կողմանս յայնս. սոյնպէս և յերկրին Ծոփաց ի Բնաբեղ բերդին գանձքն լեալ էին ընդ նովաւ, և բարձ նորա ի վեր քան զամենայն նախարարացն : Եւ քանզի այս գործակալութիւն և մարդպետութիւն, որում հայրն կոչէին ներքինեաց, գործ լեալ էր ի բնէ ժամանակաց կ թագաւորութեանն արշաիւնոյ ...¹¹⁷

In the above text, Faustus makes a clear distinction between, on the one hand, the dignity of Prince of Ingilene and, on the other, the offices and dignities of the Grand Chamberlain, that is, *hayr*, *ostikan*, and *mardpet*, when he writes:

... So Drastamat the eunuch ... [under Tigranes VII and Arsaces II] ... had become Prince of the domain of the canton, and one entrusted with the treasures, of Angl Castle, and [with those] of all the royal castles in that region. Likewise, also the treasures of Bnabel Castle in the land of Sophene had been under him ... this office [*scil.* guardian of the treasures = *ostikan*] and the Mardpet-dom, which was denominated *hayr*, had from the ancient days of the Arsacid kings been the function of eunuchs.¹¹⁸

Vitaxa, and the Prince of Gogarene, who was the Iberian Vitaxa, is preceded not only by the Mardpet (who was also Grand Chamberlain and, probably, Syrian Vitaxa), but also by the Princes of the Bagratids, of the Mamikonids, of Corduene, and of Sophene; cf. *infra* § 20 Table VI.

¹¹⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 41-42; Markwart, *Erānšahr* 166; *Südararmenien* 125 n. 3; for a greater imbroglío, see *infra* to the end of § 8.

¹¹⁷ 5.7 (210-211).

¹¹⁸ Italics in this translation are mine. — It is very odd that, in the teeth of the plain sense of the above text, Markwart should have argued that, since in that chapter Drastamat

Since the Princes of Ingilene and Anzitene continued to flourish, under Roman overlordship, down to the sixth century, the appointment of Drastamat as Prince of Ingilene can only be considered a purely titular one. In other words, with the passing of the Prince of Ingilene outside the orbit of the Armenian Crown, the latter chose to regard the region of the Angl Castle, which it still controlled, as that principality; and the *ostikan* of that castle as the prince of that region, in addition to his traditional appanage of the Mardpet-dom. Much confusion could have been avoided if a Western parallel in the correlation of the two authorities in Ingilene had been taken into consideration. Accordingly, the existence of the *Fürsten* or *Landgrafen* (*išxank'*) of Ingilene (Angel-tun) in no way conflicted with that of a *Pfalzgraf* (*ostikan*) of its chief fortress (Angl), who was also still *Markgraf* of Sophene as well as Grand Chamberlain of Armenia.¹¹⁹ What happened in the case of Drastamat was that the *Pfalzgraf*(-*Markgraf*) was, in addition, given the titular rank of *Fürst* of Ingilene. Faustus also says in that text that Drastamat enjoyed the highest rank at Court; this must have been due precisely to that titular appointment, for in List A of the Gregorian Cycle, the Prince of Ingilene and Anzitene has the first place, outranking among others the Mardpet. This investiture with the titular principedom of Ingilene must have been, unlike the investiture with the Mardpet-dom, an isolated instance: *ad personam* of Drastamat. We may suppose that this took place in, or shortly after,

is nowhere entitled *hayr mardpet*, but is referred to as 'the eunuch' (*nerk'ini*), he was not in fact Grand Chamberlain; but that that office was at the time filled by Głak (in the MSS Dłak, through the confusion of two Armenian letters, *q* and *q̄*) or Cylaces [*rectius*: Gylaces] (Faustus 5.3 and 6; Amm. Marcell. 27.12; 30.1); *Genealogie* 33-34. This chapter of Faustus appears to be largely an adaptation of an older, half-legendary, account of the death of Arsaces II in the Castle of Oblivion; Procopius has another adaptation of it in the *Bell. pers.* 1.5. It is possible, therefore, that Faustus merely repeated his source's way of referring to Drastamat as 'the eunuch.' After all, this is precisely how Amm. Marcell. refers to Głak-Gylaces (*spado*: 27.12.5; *eunuchus*: 27.12.6). This need not in any way diminish the value of what appears to have been Faustus's own remarks on the nature of Drastamat's offices and titles, adduced above, where, moreover, Drastamat's connexion with the office of *hayr* and the title of *mardpet* is amply indicated. Markwart's chronological objection will lose ground when confronted with the following table of the Grand Chamberlains of Armenia, based on Faustus 5.3, 6: — (1) Głak (for the first time) 'for some time' under Arsaces II or his father Tigranes VII; — (2) Drastamat, under Tigranes VII and Arsaces II [lost his office when Arsaces lost his Crown]; — (3) Unnamed Mardpet, executed by King Pap (367-374); — (4) Głak (for the second time), executed by King Pap.

¹¹⁹ I am grateful to Prince Charles Schwarzenberg for drawing my attention, in his letter of 30 January 1960, to this parallel. What makes this parallel especially interesting is that it is not only functional, but also, to some extent semantic: *ostikan* being related to *ostan* ('Court') (*supra* nn. 68, 70) exactly as *Pfalzgraf* = *comes palatinus* is related to *palatium*.

363, following the defection, recorded by Faustus, from whatever vestigial suzerainty of the Armenian Monarchy, of Sałamut of [Ingilene and] Anzitene and of the Prince of Greater Sophene, but before the capture and imprisonment of Arsaces II by the Great King, likewise related by Faustus, which took place shortly thereafter.¹²⁰ It will be noted that the two princes were those on whose territory were situated the two great royal castles that were governed by the Grand Chamberlain as *ostikan*. This defection, accordingly, affecting the security of these two important strongholds, was doubtless responsible for the royal attempt to create round the more important of the two castles, Angl, and out of the territory of its palatinate, a sort of counter-principedom. It may be out of loyalty to this royal act that Faustus never speaks of the dynast — the *Landgraf* — otherwise than as Prince of Anzitene alone, reserving for the official — the *gefürsteter Pfalzgraf*, as it were, — the title of Ingilene.¹²¹ The fall of Arsaces II, and of Drastamat, must have put an end to this interesting legal situation.¹²²

9. The third margrave on List B of Agathangelus is called *sahmanakaln yAruastan kołmanēn*, which is rendered, or rather senselessly transcribed, into Greek as ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀροαστῶν μερῶν. *Aruastan* was the Armenian name for the region of Nisibis,¹²³ that is, the old region of Mygdonia; its Syriac name being *Bēṭ-Arabāyē*.¹²⁴ Accordingly the march in question comprised parts of that region, as well as those of the Kingdom of Gordyene.¹²⁵ Elsewhere in the Armenian sources, the Vitaxa of this region is called 'of Ar-

¹²⁰ For these two events, see Faustus 4.50 (*supra* n. 88) and 5.54. Although Faustus, 5.7, says that Drastamat held his dignities under Tigranes and Arsaces, this may not necessarily mean that he received *all* of them under the former king.

¹²¹ Since Markwart refused to consider Drastamat a Grand Chamberlain (*supra* n. 118), he felt obliged to reject the connexion between the office of *ostikan* of Angl, etc., and that of *hayr mardpet*: *Genealogie* 31-34; but cf. *Ērānšahr* 166; *Sūdarmenien* 125 n. 3. Accordingly, he asserted that Drastamat was but one of a series of eunuchs who, without being Grand Chamberlains, were *ostikank'* of Angl and also held the Principality of Ingilene. This, however, is plainly contradicted by Faustus 5.7, where the traditional connexion of the two offices is stressed. It is the investiture with Ingilene that appears, from that text, unconnected with these offices, but united with them only in the person of Drastamat. Markwart's appeal to the fact that Faustus does not mention a Prince of Ingilene apart from Drastamat (*Genealogie* 42) has been answered above. And he simply overlooks the testimony of other sources to the continued existence, down to the sixth century, of the Princes of Ingilene and Anzitene.

¹²² Drastamat was led captive to Iran together with his king: Faustus, 5.7; Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 1.5.30. For the tragic end of both, see Faustus, *loc. cit.*; Procopius, 1.5.30-40.

¹²³ *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 13; Faustus 4.20 (139: *aruc'astani*); 4.21 (144: *aruestani*); Sebēos 2 (51).

¹²⁴ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 165-166; *Sūdarmenien* 378.

¹²⁵ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 25, 165-166, 169, 178.

zanene,¹²⁶ sometimes 'great Prince of Arzanene ... called Vitaxa,¹²⁷ 'Great Vitaxa,¹²⁸ and even 'King of Arzanene.¹²⁹ Arzanene was the name of the Vitaxa's own dynastic State, with its nucleus in the canton and castle of Ałdzn or Ardzn¹³⁰ and with the former Arsacid capital of Tigranocerta on its territory;¹³¹ and it was extended to the entire margraviate of which that State was a part. This name appears to have been a survival of the ancient ethnicon Alzi-Alshe of Urartian times.¹³²

The Princes of Arzanene, Vitaxae of the Arabian March were a branch of the Orontid Dynasty, but were traditionally ascribed a descent from King Sennacherib of Assyria.¹³³ By the Peace of Nisibis, Arzanene, together with Corduene and Zabdicene, Moxoene and Rehimene, passed under the aegis of Rome, but, in the reign of Chosroes III of Armenia (330-339), Bacurius, Vitaxa of Arzanene, made an attempt to pass to Iranian allegiance.¹³⁴ This implied also his detaching himself completely from what vestiges of Armenian suzerainty that Rome, so long as the King of Armenia himself remained her vassal, had evidently done nothing to destroy.¹³⁵ Thereupon, doubtless with Rome's connivance, Chosroes III sent a punitive expedition against Bacurius, in which the Princes of the two Sophenes, also Roman vassals, took part. Bacurius lost his life in the struggle, and his State and dignities passed, together with the hand of his daughter, to Valinak, Prince of Siunia [§ 12.25]. Owing, however, to the protection of the Mamikonids, the inheritance of Bacurius soon reverted to his son Khesha.¹³⁶ In 363, nevertheless, Arzanene and its dependencies were ceded by Rome to the Great King,¹³⁷ with this,

¹²⁶ *Aljineac*: the genitive of *Aljnik*: 'Αλσενών in Gk Agath.; 'Αρζιανηνής in Gk Life of St Gregory (*supra* Lists A and B).

¹²⁷ Faustus 3.9 (*supra* at n. 41).

¹²⁸ Arm. Agath. 112/745; Gk Life of St. Gregory 98 (*supra* Lists A and B).

¹²⁹ Faustus 5.16 (chapter heading).

¹³⁰ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 26, 178.

¹³¹ Faustus 4.24.

¹³² Cf. Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 198, 275; Melik'išvili, *Urart. nadpisi* 417.

¹³³ **III/I** § 15, 16 (4). — This house is mentioned in Lists A and B of the Gregorian Cycle; Faustus 3.9 (*supra* at n. 41); 4.24, 50; 5.16; Lazarus 33 (134); Eliseus 1 (16), 2 (66), 4 (120), 7 (173); and Ps. Moses 1.23 (chapter heading on the common descent of the Vitaxae of Arzanene, the Arcrunis, and the Gnumis from Sennacherib of Assyria); 2.8, 30; 3.4. — It is regretted that Markwart should have reversed his opinion in *Genealogie* 32-33 — but not in *Südarmenien*, e.g., 116 (which work appeared in the same year 1930) — when he identified the Vitaxa of Arzanene with the 'Assyrian' margrave and stated that 'ein bdeaxr nach der Seite von Arvastan ... ist überhaupt nicht bekannt.' For the confusion between 'Syrian' and 'Assyrian' in connexion with the Orontid origin of the House of Arzanene, see **III/I** *loc. cit.*

¹³⁴ Faustus 3.9 (cf. also *supra* at n. 41); cf. Ps. Moses 3.4.

¹³⁵ *Supra* at n. 91.

¹³⁶ Faustus 3.9.

¹³⁷ Amm. Marcell. 25.7.9 (*supra* n. 63); Faustus 4.50 (*supra* n. 54).

it left the Armenian Monarchy. Though in 371, Armenian control over Arzanene and its dependencies was re-established, and the family of the Vitaxa taken captive,¹³⁸ the Partition of Armenia of 387 once again, and definitively, placed Arzanene in the Iranian sphere and outside that of the Armenian Monarchy. In the mid-fifth century, the Vitaxa of Arzanene was appealed to by the Armenian insurgents as a foreign power, like the Empire, Ingilene, Sophene, etc.¹³⁹ After that date, the dynasty of Arzanene is no longer heard of in the sources.

In the Vitaxate,¹⁴⁰ besides the House of Arzanene, the following three, apparently immemorially local, Carduchian dynasties were established. First, the Princes of Corduene, who appear to have occupied a unique position among the princes, not only of that march, but also of the entire kingdom, in that they were exempt from the military control of the High Constable of Armenia.¹⁴¹ They, accordingly, must have commanded their cavalry contingent separately. This possibly was the reason why, of the princes sent by Chosroes III against Bacurius of Arzanene, Jon of Corduene was the only one from the Vitaxate.¹⁴² Corduene, with its fifteen fortresses, was the only princely State in Gordyene.¹⁴³ Was its dynasty descended from the ancient Kings of

¹³⁸ Faustus 5.10. 16.

¹³⁹ Lazarus 33 (134). In Eliseus, Arzanene appears as even more foreign than in Lazarus: 1 (16), 2 (66), 4 (120), 7 (173).

¹⁴⁰ For this march, see Adontz, *Armenija* 42-43; Markwart, *Eränšahr* 25, 114, 165-166, 169, 178; *Südarmenien* 89-90, 115-116, 119-122, 215-220, 352-354, 357, 373-374; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 248-251, 254-259, 305-322, 331-337; Gelzer, *Geogr. Cypr.* 47 n. 938a, 165-167; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze* 4-6, 22-24, Maps I, IV; Garitte, *Documents* 200-202, 219-220, 225, 237; Baumgartner, 'Arzanene,' RE 2/2 1498; Streck, *ibid.* Suppl. 1.147; Tournebize, 'Arzu,' DHGE 4 862; Baumgartner, *Γορδωνή*, RE 7/2 1594-1595; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 232-245. — Arzanene = Arm. Aljnik' = Syr. Arzōn; Corduene = Arm. Korduk' = Syr. Bēṭ-Qardū; Moxoene = Arm. Mekk' = Syr. Bēṭ-Moksāyē; Zabdicene = Arm. Cawdēk' = Syr. Bēṭ-Zaḫdē; Rehimene = Syr. Bēṭ-Rehimē; Gordyene = Arm. Korčēk'. — The Vitaxate of Arzanene comprised, thus, besides the province of Arzanene with the nuclear principedom of Aljn, also the Province of Moxoene and a part at least of that of Gordyene.

¹⁴¹ This house is mentioned in List A of the Gregorian Cycle; Faustus 3.9; 4.50; 5.10; Eliseus 1 (16), 2 (66); Ps. Moses 2.8. The exemption of the Prince of Corduene from the control of the High Constable is implied in the Arab. Life of St Gregory 86; *infra* n. 228.

¹⁴² Faustus 3.9. Though under Roman control after 298, Corduene must not have altogether escaped Iranian political influence, for c. 359, its prince ('satrap') Jovinianus could not express openly his pro-Roman sympathies: Amm. Marcell. 18.6.20-22. Yet during Julian's Iranian campaign Corduene was Roman; *ibid.* 25.7.8; and was, together with its fifteen fortresses, ceded, along with other territories, to Iran in the treaty of 363; *ibid.* 25.7.9.

¹⁴³ In the province of Gordyene was also situated the principedom of Lesser Albak, belonging to the Arcrunis [§ 12.8] for which see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 335-336; Hakobyan *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 244-245. But we do not know whether the entire province was included in the Arabian March. — For Corduene also see Weissbach, *Καρδοῦχοι*, RE 10/2 1933-1938.

Gordyene and was this the explanation of its singular position? It is impossible to tell. Then, the Princes of the province of Moxoene, who remained in the Armenian political sphere, after the other two dynasties had followed Arzanene out of it,¹⁴⁴ and who became extinct after the seventh century, their State devolving upon the Bagratids [§ 12.9] and, later, the Artsrunis [12.8].¹⁴⁵ Finally, the Princes of Zabdicene who, having followed, together with their *confrères*, the political vicissitudes of the Vitaxate, disappeared from history at the same time as the Houses of Arzanene and of Corduene.¹⁴⁶ The Vitaxate, moreover, contained the Syrian land of Rehimene.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, in Eliseus 1 (16) and 2 (66), Arzanene, Corduene, and Zabdicene appear as distinct from Armenia as Iberia and Albania; cf. *infra* n. 145.

¹⁴⁵ Arm. Agath. 112/795; 126/873; Gk Agath. 136; 165; Gk Life of St Gregory 98; Arab. Life of St Gregory 86 (*supra* Lists A and B); Lazarus 23, 25, 27, 39, 70; Eliseus 2 (55), 6. (151); Sebēos 30 (175); Ps. Moses 2.8; 3.43, 55; cf. Ps. Zenobius 26, 30. See also Adontz, *Armenija* 299; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 254-255, 330-333; Garitte, *Documents* 225; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 495-500 (for the Bagratids of Moxoene); Schachermayer, 'Moxoene,' RE 16/1 409; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 241-242. The Byzantine Court entitled the Prince of Moxoene in the tenth century ἀρχὴν τοῦ Μόξου: Const. Porphy., *De cerim.* 2.48.

¹⁴⁶ The Princes of Zabdicene are mentioned in List A of the Gregorian Cycle; Eliseus 1 (16) and 2 (66); Ps. Moses 2, 8. — In recent historiography Eliseus's reference to *Cawdēic' /C dēic'*, among those peoples to whom the religious edict of Yazdgard II was addressed (1[16], 2 [66]), has been interpreted as having to do with the Sodi of Pliny, 6.11.29 (*sic plana aut devexa optinentur; rursus ab Albaniae confinio tota montium fronte gentes. Silvorum ferae et infra Lupeniorum, mox Diduri et Sodi*); e. g., Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 202 n. 3. Except the Sodi, the ethnica of Pliny are perfectly identifiable: *ibid.* 48. Now the edict of Yazdgard was addressed, in Eliseus 1, to the Armenians, Iberians, Albanians, *Lp'ink'* = Lupeniori, *Cawdeayk'*, Corduenians (*Karduac'*), and Arzanenians (*Ajzneac'*) and, in Eliseus 2, to the Armenians, Iberians, Albanians, *Lp'ink'*, Arzanenians, Corduenians, *Cōdeayk'*, and Darsan (= Dassntrē in the Median March?). 'Albania and *Lp'ink'* (and Čor)' formed part of the *intitulatio* of the Albanian katholikoi: Trever 48, 243. Most likely they entered also the *intitulatio* of the Albanian kings. They, at any rate, were, like 'France and Navarre' or 'England and Wales,' frequently spoken of in the same breath. But, just because the *Lp'ink'* are indeed the Lupeniori of Pliny, it does not follow that Pliny's unidentified Sodi must be *Cawdeayk' /Cōdeayk'* (ō being a later way of manuscript rendering of the original diphthong *aw*) of Eliseus. The latter term is mentioned, in two different combinations, together with those to designate Arzanene and Corduene, while its proximity to the *Lp'ink'* appears fortuitous, being due to one of the two ways in which these three names are ranged. There can be no doubt, I think, that the term in question denotes Zabdicene. But the confusion is an ancient one: Ps. Moses, too, possibly under the impression of some source where as in Eliseus 1, the *Lp'ink'* are mentioned just before the *Cawdeayk'*, believed the Princes of Zabdicene (who had disappeared long before his time) to have been an Albanian dynasty, for in 2.8. he assigned to them the descent, together with the Houses of Otene [§ 13. 19] and Gardman [§ 13.9], from the Albanian eponym Apan. Cf. *Atlas Arm. SSR* Plate 104, where Zabdicene (*Cawdēk'*) is located in the vicinity of Otene and Gardman.

¹⁴⁷ Rehimene is not known to Armenian geography, its very toponym not having any Armenian equivalent, and there is absolutely no indication that it ever had a dynasty of

10. The last Vitaxa on List B of Agathangelus is qualified as *i Mask'fac' kolmanēn* and, in an attempt at a Greek interpretation of it, as τῶν Μασαχοῦ τῶν Οὐρυνῶν μερῶν. This term stands, in this context, for the Mushki-Moschians dwelling in the south-western — Moschic or Meskhian — part of Iberia.¹⁴⁸ Three Iberian lands bordering on that territory, Tao, Cholarzene, and Gogarene, were conquered by the Armenians and formed by them into the northern march of the Armenian Monarchy, which was placed under the Prince of Gogarene as Vitaxa and which, though denominated 'Moschic March,' was the bulwark against the Kingdoms of Iberia and Albania.¹⁴⁹ But it was under the name of Vitaxa of Gogarene¹⁵⁰ that this margrave was generally known; the name of the province wherein his nucleal principedom was situated being given to the entire march, which included other provinces.

Appearing in the sources earlier than the other Vitaxae — in the monuments, of their necropolis at Armazi dating from the first century after Christ — and in general, being better documented than they, this line of margraves also outlived the others by some three centuries, disappearing from history in the eighth century. These dynasts appear in the sources under various titles. The Armazi inscriptions style them simply 'vitaxa.'¹⁵¹ The documents of the Gregorian Cycle entitle them 'Prince of the country of Gogarene, who is called The Other Vitaxa,'¹⁵² 'the other κομηταῖσιος,'¹⁵³ 'Prince of the land of Gogarene, who also has the dignity of Vitaxa.'¹⁵⁴ The title of 'Other Vitaxa' was correlative to 'Great Vitaxa' borne by the Arabian marcher. It could be supposed that the Court of Armenia had attempted to make as painless as possible the delicate problem of precedence among the four coequal tetrarchs. So, whereas the first and the second tetrarch, the Median and the Syrian,

its own. It was not, therefore, an Armenian land, let alone an Armenian principedom, but a Syrian region controlled by the Vitaxae of Arzanene, or even merely grouped together with the lands controlled by them by the Roman government at the moment when it passed under the aegis of the Empire. It is mentioned above only because, of all the several princeless cantons of Arzanene, Gordyene, and Moxoene that formed part of the Vitaxate, Rehimene alone has played a role in history, for which, see *supra* n. 63.

¹⁴⁸ V n. 98.

¹⁴⁹ For this march, see Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 116, 165-166, 168-169, 178; *Skizzen* 26-31; Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 271-285; L. Movsēsean, trans. F. Macler, 'L'ŕi et l'histoire de la famille bagratide arménienne Kurikian,' *REA* 7/2 (1927) 213-266; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 275-276, 353-357; Garitte, *Documents* 208; M. Kiessling, 'Gogarene,' *RE* 7/2 1553-1554; V § 8-19; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 252-255.

¹⁵⁰ *Gugarac'*: the genitive of *Gugark'*.

¹⁵¹ *Supra* at n. 14.

¹⁵² Arm. Agath. 112/795 (*supra* List A).

¹⁵³ Gk Agath. 136 (*supra* List A).

¹⁵⁴ Gk Life of St. Gregory 98 = Arab. Life 86 (*supra* List A).

had no additional qualifications, the third one, the Arabian, was entitled 'The Great' and the last, the Iberian, 'The Other.' Faustus calls him 'Vitaxa of Gogarene.'¹⁵⁵ This Armeno-Georgian march appears to have been called 'Iberia' by the Armenians and 'Armenia' by the Georgians.¹⁵⁶ Accordingly, Lazarus calls the Vitaxa of his day 'Vitaxa of Iberia' and even 'Prince of Iberia.'¹⁵⁷ And the beautiful sardonyx intaglio of the Vitaxa Arshusha II (c. 451) shows the *intitulatio* ΟΥΣΑΣ ΠΙΤΙΑΞΗΣ ΙΒΗΡΩΝ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ.¹⁵⁸ In the Georgian sources other than the Armazi monuments, one finds expressions like 'Vitaxa of Iberia'¹⁵⁹ and 'Vitaxa of Armenia',¹⁶⁰ as well as simply 'Vitaxa'.¹⁶¹ The Armazi inscriptions reveal still another formula: νεώτερος πιτιάξης.¹⁶² It would be tempting to see in this expression a rendering of 'The Other Vitaxa' by which title the rulers of this march were, as has just been seen, designated in Armenia. However, this term appears in connexion with only one personage, Zeuaches, on a stele with two inscriptions, one in 'Armazic,' the other in Greek, commemorative of his daughter. It appears, moreover, next to the plain πιτιάξης in the Greek stele, which refers to that lady's father-in-law Publicius Agrippa and thus, obviously, in contradistinction to it. A case of co-optation, with 'junior vitaxa' meaning 'joint-' or 'co-vitaxa' must, therefore, rather be supposed.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁵ 4.50; 5.15.

¹⁵⁶ Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Georgie* (St Petersburg 1851) 73-74; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 226; Gugushvili, *Division* 63; V § 16 at n. 164.

¹⁵⁷ *Bdešx Vrac'*: 27 (108), 28 (116), 31 (125), 62 (242), cf. 25 (98); — *išxann Vrac'*: 59 (234).

¹⁵⁸ E. Q. Visconti, *Iconografia greca* II (Milan 1824) 357-360, Pl. xvi, No. 10; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 78 (fig. 34); cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 273-277; Akinean, *Korion*, 102-103. The significance of the last word will be discussed *infra* at nn. 187-190. — The gem was formerly in the Cabinet des médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

¹⁵⁹ *K'artlisa pitiaxš*: *Mart. Eust.* 3 (47).

¹⁶⁰ *Somexl'a patiaxšisa; patiaxša Somxii'issa*: Juanšer 185, 199.

¹⁶¹ *Pitiaxš*, in *Mart. Susan* 34-43.

¹⁶² Cf. the bilingual stele from Grave 4: *supra* n. 14.

¹⁶³ It is absolutely impossible to tell whether this was an isolated instance of collegiality or the manifestation of a system. At all events, this cannot justify the tendency to generalize on the part of some specialists who would suppose the existence in Iberia of two kinds of vitaxae, 'junior' and 'senior,' 'great' and 'little (*sic*)'; cf. Ceret'eli, *Ėp. naxodki* 50 n. 5; Berjunišvili, *Ist. Gruzii* 74. All this involves something else: the tendency to treat Caucasiology as so many watertight compartments and, in this particular case, to speak of the Iberian vitaxae without any reference to their Armenian context. As a result, Soviet savants (Ceret'eli, Janašia, Ap'ak'ije [in *Mcxeta* 27 n. 1 and *passim*]) assume 'vitaxa' to be an Iranian translation of the Georgian *erist' av* ('duke'; *infra* n. 165) and of its Armenian equivalent. Actually, the vitaxae coexisted with the Armenian *naxarark'* and the Iberian *erist'avn*, and, moreover, existed in Iran itself.

11. This march of the Armenian Monarchy began as a series of marches of the Iberian kingdom of the Pharnabazid Dynasty. Vassals of the Seleucids, the Pharnabazids appear to have aided their overlords in holding in check the weakish First Armenian Monarchy of the Orontids.¹⁶⁴ The Pharnabazid effort to control the dynastic aristocracy at home through the institution of the duchies has already been studied.¹⁶⁵ This institution proved of use also in the field of foreign policy. Accordingly, the duchies along the Armenian frontier were from the Iberian point of view real margraviates, precisely — but on a lesser scale — what the Vitaxates were from the Armenian, and were composed of both Iberian and annexed lands. Four duchies in particular faced Armenia in the north. In the west, in the Acampsis valley, the newly acquired land of Cholarzene formed one such duchy, with Tao, another acquisition, as its southern bastion. East of it, in the upper valley of the Cyrus and composed of the Iberian lands of Javakhet'i, Artani, and Kola, was the Duchy of Tsunda. Farther east, the Pharnabazids made the Iberian land of Gach'iani and two Armenian — Gogarenian — lands of Tashir and Ashots' into the Duchy of Samshvilde. Northeast of it, the land of Gardabani constituted the Duchy of Khunani facing both Armenia and Albania. The names of the last three duchies were derived from their chief strongholds. This line of frontier duchies was completed, in the west, by the Duchy of Odzrkhe marching upon Colchis and, in the east, by that of Kakhetia neighbouring upon Albania.¹⁶⁶

In the second century before Christ, the change of the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean consequent on the decline of the Seleucids and the advent of Rome brought about the rise of the powerful Second Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads; and this, in turn, effected a change along the Armeno-Georgian frontier. From Pharnabazid, it passed under Artaxiad control. Tao and Cholarzene; Ashots', Tashir, and Kola; also parts at least of Javakhet'i and Artani, were all annexed to the Armenian kingdom. Strabo, who records this, calls Tao *παρώγεια τοῦ Παρναβάζου* and the remaining lands — save Cholarzene — Gogarene.¹⁶⁷ Since Strabo speaks of Gogarene as lying across the Cyrus from Tao and Cholarzene, the Artaxiad acquisition of it must obviously have implied not only the recovery of the lands of Tashir and Ashots', but also the conquest, of parts at least, of the purely Iberian regions of Javakhet'i, Artani, and Kola.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ V § 7.

¹⁶⁵ I at nn. 143-150, 158-159, and § 18.

¹⁶⁶ V § 4-5; I at n. 257.

¹⁶⁷ 11.14.5, and for the position of Gogarene, also 11.44.4. See in this connexion V § 8, 10, 11, 14, 15.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* § 15, 10.

Gogarene also included lands that had never ceased being Armenian, notably, the valleys of the three southern tributaries of the Cyrus that separate Iberia from Albania: Tsobap'or (the valley of the Berduji-Debeda), Kolbap'or (the valley of the Inja), and Dzorap'or (the valley of the Aqstafa), as well as Kangark', due south of Tashir.¹⁶⁹ Accordingly, the northern, Moschic, march created by the Artaxiads contained the Armenian princely State of Gogarene (comprising the three valleys, and Ashots', Tashir, and Kangark') and portions of the Iberian duchy of Tsunda.¹⁷⁰

As the first century after Christ saw a weakening of Armenia, which was torn between rival empires and rapacious neighbours, the Vitaxate passed under the political influence of Iberia, which, just at that time, had come to play a considerable role in Armenian affairs.¹⁷¹ For this reason the Armazi monuments show the Vitaxae as vassals of the Kings of Iberia; these monuments themselves belong to the necropolis of the Vitaxae (discovered in 1937-1946) that was situated near (4 km. west of) Armazi-K'art'li, the holy city of Iberian paganism.¹⁷² That, simultaneously with this acceptance by the Vitaxae of Iberian suzerainty, they lost to the Iberian Crown the purely Iberian territories of the Duchy of Tsunda, can hardly be called in question.¹⁷³

However, the Arsacid revival of the Armenian Monarchy effected a new reversal of allegiance, and the documents of the Gregorian Cycle, as well as Faustus, show the Vitaxae of the North once again within the realm of Great Armenia. The Vitaxate, moreover, appears to have been enlarged in the transaction at the expense of Iberia, not only through the renewed addition of parts of the Duchy of Tsunda, but also through the addition of the Duchy of Cholarzene. With this, the name of Gogarene acquired a second, broad, significance of, precisely, the Vitaxate, in contradistinction to the narrow sense of the Principality, and was made to include, besides it, also Cholarzene, Javakhet'i, and Artani.¹⁷⁴ The Armenian historical tradition preserved the memory of the dynasty of the Vitaxae of these early times under the name

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* § 14.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* § 15.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 105-113; Magie, *Roman Rule* 476, 482-486, 496-497, 498, 507-509, 513-515, 551-562, 606-610, 659-662; Debevoise, *Parthia* 143-269.

¹⁷² I n. 152; and, for Armazi, *ibid.* n. 121.

¹⁷³ V § 15 at n. 147.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* at nn. 148-154. It is in the seventh-century *Geography* of Ananias (34) that Gogarene is made to comprise Cholarzene (Kalar]k, *rectius* Klar]k'), Artani (Ardahan), and Upper Javaxet'i (Jovaxk', *rectius* Jawaxk'). Ananias also includes in Gogarene the Iberian land of T'rialet'i (T're]k'), the reason for this will be seen *infra* at n. 200. Cholarzene had simultaneously with Gogarene reverted to Iberia between the beginning of the first and the middle of the second century: V § 11 at nn. 93-98.

of the House of Gushar, a branch of the divine dynasty of the mythical primogenitor of the Armenians, Hayk;¹⁷⁵ while the Armazi records reveal the names of some of the Gusharid (as we may call them) Vitaxae.¹⁷⁶ A new decline of the Armenian Monarchy led, in the fourth century, to a new shift of control along the Armeno-Georgian border. Along with the other Vitaxates, that of Gogarene severed its ties of feudal allegiance with that monarchy in 363, passing again under the aegis of Iberia. Though momentarily constrained to return to its former allegiance in 371, Gogarene definitively abandoned it in 387.¹⁷⁷

The change of suzerainty was connected with a change of dynasty. The Gusharids of Gogarene seem to have perished in the struggle of 371,¹⁷⁸ and were replaced in the Vitaxate by a new ruling house represented by P'eroz, kinsman and son-in-law of the first Christian King of Iberia, St Mirian (Meribanes) III. Mirian and P'eroz headed two lines of the House of Mihrān, one of the Seven Great Houses of the Iranian empire.¹⁷⁹ It was, in fact, the victory of the Sassanids in their struggle with what remained in Caucasia of the Arsacid régime that manifested itself in the acquisition of several Caucasian thrones by several lines of the Mihranids, whose Arsacid connexions were well counterbalanced by their loyalty to, and their kinship with, the Sassanids. Accordingly, one line had somewhat earlier come to the throne of Iberia — but thwarted the Iranian purpose by accepting Christianity — with, precisely, St Mirian; another now came to Gogarene, with P'eroz, who, too, became a Christian, while still another replaced the older dynasty of the Armenian principedom of Gardman [§ 13.9].¹⁸⁰

A convergence of several facts and traditions makes it rather difficult to doubt the Mihranid origin of the Houses of Iberia, Gogarene, and Gardman. First, there are the onomastic data. The Iberian Mihranids, or Chosroids as they are known to the national historical tradition of Iberia, and the Mihranids of Gardman manifested a predilection for names connected with the god Mithras, who may possibly have once been the object of a family cult of the

¹⁷⁵ Ps. Moses, 2.8, knows only the second, Mihranid, House of Gogarene and so ascribes to all the Vitaxae an Iranian origin; but, at the same time, according to him, all the Gogarenian lands: Kangark', Kolb, Cob, Jor, Ašoc', Tašir, as well as a part of Ĵawaxk', were appanages of the race of Gušar, a scion of the Haykid Dynasty; this is a tradition that is much older than his memory. See V § 14 at nn. 134, 140; and, for the Haykids, I at nn. 168-170.

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix A I.

¹⁷⁷ V § 11 at n. 99; § 15 at n. 155; cf. *supra* at n. 55.

¹⁷⁸ V § 16 and n. 161.

¹⁷⁹ For the House of Mihrān, see Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 104-105; Ehtéšām, *Iran Achém.* 21 n. 4; cf. I n. 105.

¹⁸⁰ The advent of the Mihranids to Caucasia is dealt with in V § 16.

Iranian Mihrāns.¹⁸¹ Accordingly, the Chosroid genealogy shows no less than nine personages bearing these pagan theophoric names.¹⁸² And the House of Gardman, on its part, claimed descent from a Mihrān, said to have been a kinsman of the Great King Chosroes II, and, what is more, actually bore the dynastic surname of Mihrakan, which is nothing other than calling itself 'Mihranid.'¹⁸³ Secondly, the three dynasties of Iberia, Gardman, and Gogarene claimed a Sassanid origin, which must have been, as another of the genealogical *chimères*,^{183a} what the Mihrāns were credited with in Caucasia. Thus, the founder of the Chosroids, St Mirian, is given out to have been a Great King's son;¹⁸⁴ the founder of the House of Gardman is, as has just been noted, reported to have been at once a Mihrān and a member of the Great King's family;¹⁸⁵ and finally the Vitaxae of Gogarene, likewise, attributed to themselves a Sassanid origin. This is clear not only from the fact that their founder P'eroz was said to have been a kinsman of St Mirian and a member of the Great King's family,¹⁸⁶ but also from the *intitulatio* *ΠΙΤΙΑΞΗΣ ΙΒΗΡΩΝ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ* shown on Arshusha II's intaglio.¹⁸⁷ The last word has, to my knowledge, hitherto remained unexplained. Not that attempts to explain it have been lacking; but they simply explained nothing.¹⁸⁸ But in this con-

¹⁸¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 440-441.

¹⁸² Among the Chosroids, besides Mirian III, we find Mihrdat (= Mithridates) III, Mihrdat IV, Mihrdat V, Mihr(an or Mirian), Mihran of Kuxet'i, Mihrdat, and two princesses named Mihranduxt: Leont. Mrov. 131-132; 135-138; Juanšer 139; 140-142; 143, 145, 150, 157, 185; 151, 159; 204-207, 217-218; 232-243; 244.

¹⁸³ V § 18.

^{183a} Cf. I at n. 245.

¹⁸⁴ According to Leont. Mrov. 60-64, Mirian III was a son of the Sassanid Great King *K'asre Ardašir*, i.e., the first Sassanid emperor — an obvious reminiscence of the earlier pattern of Arsacid cadets on Caucasian thrones; the *Roy. List I* 50 makes him the son of a spurious King Lev of Iberia.

¹⁸⁵ Moses Kal. 2.17; 3.23 (387): *Եւ Միւրհեանն, որ 'ի Սասանեան տունէ էր* ('And Mihrān, who was of the Sassanid house').

¹⁸⁶ Leont. Mrov. 68: *Եւ Ստոյգանն Նաթնեյտոտ տշնո թոնո, Նադեխաջո Սեղդեոյ, Նաթեղոտ ցըրուն* ('And [Mirian] brought from Iran his kinsman, of the house of the Kings, named P'eroz').

¹⁸⁷ *Supra* at n. 158.

¹⁸⁸ Thus, Fr Peeters would emend *Καρχηδών* to *Κολχιδών* on the ground that the Vitaxae held Cholarzene: *Ste Sousanik* 275-279. But Cholarzene was always a part of Iberia — Upper Iberia — and never of Colchis-Egrisi; and, at any rate, *Κόλχων* would have been the proper form. Fr Akinean suggests that the genitive of Gogarene-Gugark': *Gugarac'* may have been the original of the Greek: *Koriwn* 103. This is indeed what one would like to believe, but the distance between the two vocables, *Καρχηδών* and *Gugarac'*, is too unbridgeable to admit of this solution. See *ibid.* also other theories: Tēr-Sahakean's that *Kaxet'i* (Kakhetia) be the basis for the Greek term — one wonders why; and the tempting reference to the fact that Plutarch speaks of Artaxata as *ἐν Ἀρμενίῳις Καρχη-*

text, still another explanation presents itself which appears entirely plausible. It is that the word means what it says: — Carthage. We know that the seventh-century Armenian historian Sebēos actually referred to the Sassanids as 'Carthaginians' (*Kark'edovmayec'i*).¹⁸⁹ Whatever the origin of this curious confusion,¹⁹⁰ it seems difficult not to see that it is this periphrasis that is implied in the word which has proved to be the baffling element in Arshusha II's *intitulatio*. The legend on the intaglio can, accordingly, be read as *πιτιάξης Ἰβήρων Καρχηδ[ονί]ων* and interpreted as meaning 'The Carthaginian, *scil.* Sassanid, Vitaxa of Iberia.' Thirdly, some evidence preserved by Pseudo-Moses lends further support to the community of origin of the Houses of Iberia and of Gogarene, and to their descent from the Mihrāns. It is found, hidden as it were, in a telling, though odd, imbroglia. Accordingly, the Vitaxae of Gogarene are said to have been descended from Mihrdat or Mithridates, a satrap of Darius, whom Alexander placed in control of some Iberians once captured by Nabuchodonosor: — which means simply, in control of Iberia.¹⁹¹ Then, Mithridates (Mihrdat), King of Pontus is called 'great Vitaxa of Iberia' and made a descendant of the same satrap of Darius.¹⁹² Finally, St Mirian of Iberia is called 'chief of Iberia and Vitaxa of Gogarene.'¹⁹³ This imbroglia manifests a double confusion: (1) between the Vitaxae of Gogarene, indeed 'of Iberia,' according to some formulae of *intitulatio*,¹⁹⁴ and the Kings of Iberia; and (2) between the Vitaxae and the Kings of Pontus. The first confusion must be due not only to the toponymical ambivalence involved — it did not influence what Pseudo-Moses had to say regarding the Gusharids — but precisely to the common origin of the two houses; the second, to the fact that this origin was in the House of Mihrān, which claimed descent from a legendary hero Milādh, a reminiscence, as Markwart has shown, of a royal Mithridates.¹⁹⁵ Fourthly and finally, Leontius of Ruisi symbolizes the nearly

δῶν: Lucullus 32.3, owing to the fact that it was Hannibal who supervised its construction: *ibid.* and 31; Strabo 11.14.6. But the Vitaxae of Gogarene had absolutely no connexion with the ancient Artaxiad capital. Cf. also Ap'ak'ije, *Mexeta* 62, n. 2.

¹⁸⁹ Sebēos, Preface 34.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. F. Macler, *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebēos* (Paris 1904) 156-157: the Armenian version of the apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel 'semble identifier Carthage et le peuple de Perse'; this version is nearly contemporary with Sebēos.

¹⁹¹ 2.8. 11. — For the connexion of Nabuchodonosor with Iberia, see III/II n. 4.

¹⁹² 2.11.

¹⁹³ 3.6. The term used is *arajnord*, whereby Ps. Moses designates elsewhere (2.86) the same King of Iberia and also Ezechias, King of Juda (1.23).

¹⁹⁴ *Supra* at nn. 157-159.

¹⁹⁵ Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 104 n. 1; Markwart, *Genealogie* 74-75. — The confusions of Ps. Moses caused, in turn, those of Herzfeld. The Vitaxa Pāpak of the Palkuli inscription (*supra* n. 35) is obviously not a Caucasian, but an Iranian dignitary and, to boot, a member

simultaneous accession of three Mihranid branches to three Caucasian thrones as the Great King's setting up of St Mirian as King at once of Iberia, Armenia, and Albania.¹⁹⁶

The State which the Mihranids of Gogarene ruled differed somewhat from the point of view of geography from the State once ruled by the Gusharids. The Iberian lands of the Vitaxate, Cholarzene and parts of Tsunda, reverted to the Crown of Iberia upon the return of Gogarene to Iberian suzerainty.¹⁹⁷ More than this, two basically Gogarenian lands, Dzorap'or, with the great castle of Hnarakert, and Kolbap'or, had sometime before 339 become separate princely States, and in 363, together with Gogarene severed their feudal ties with the King of Armenia, passing to the sphere of Albania. That both were younger lines of the Gusharid house, seems difficult not to suppose. By the seventh century, however, both these States appear reincorporated in Gogarene; and in the eighth, both are parts of Gardman.¹⁹⁸ Worse still, by the mid-fifth century, two other basic Gogarenian territories, Tashir and Ashots', became, in their turn, separate principalities; although by the seventh and the eighth century, respectively, both reverted to the Vitaxate. The dynasties of these two short-lived States must have been younger branches of the by-then-established Mihranids of Gogarene.¹⁹⁹

of the imperial house, since on that inscription he precedes the Prime Minister of Iran whereas 'the Armenian and Georgian margraves ... never held so high a rank [at the Court of Iran]': Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 50 (As a matter of fact, Herzfeld would have found himself hard put to it to cite any document indicating the precedence enjoyed in Iran by 'the Armenian and Georgian margraves.'). Nevertheless he would consider Pāpak at once a Sassanid prince (a brother of the Great King Narses), a Vitaxa of Gogarene, and a King of Iberia! For this reason he identified Pāpak with St Mirian, and explained the King's name by the supposition that his mother might have been a Mihranid princess.

¹⁹⁶ Leont. Mrov. 64; cf. V § 17 at n. 168. — Because the Princes of Gardman acquired in the seventh century the Principate of Albania, for the Iberian historians the House of Gardman was synonymous with the House of Albania: *ibid.* § 17 at 169-172.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* § 11 at n. 99; at n. 162.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* § 14 at n. 134; 15 at n. 154; 16 at n. 163; 18 at nn. 200-205. The Princes of Jorap'or, or of Jor, and of Kolbap'or, or of Kolb, are mentioned in Faustus, 3.12 (c. 339: Manawaz of Kolb and Gorut' of Jor); 4.50 (in connexion with their abandonment of Great Armenia), and in Ps. Moses, 2.8. For these regions, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 353, 354; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 253.

¹⁹⁹ V § 14 at nn. 134, 139-140; 15 at n. 154; 16 at nn. 159, 163, 165. For the Princes of Tašir, see Lazarus 42, 47; Eliseus 8 (251); Ps. Moses 2.8; for their land: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 271; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 254-255. — Koriwn mentions Ašusa, Prince of Tašir (15.3[43]: *išxanin Tašrac'woc' ... Ašusa*), who was the host of St Maštoc' (Mesrop), inventor of the Armenian alphabet, after the latter's trip to Constantinople, i.e., sometime about 430; Peeters, 'Jérémie, évêque de l'Ibérie perse (431),' *AB* 51 (1933) 28. In relating these events, Ps. Moses (3.60) speaks of Ašusa, Vitaxa of Gogarene, who received Maštoc' in the canton of Tašir, in his principality (*yiwr išxanut'iwnn 'i gawaṛn Tašray*). Fr

The Gogarenian Mihranids were, however, compensated for these losses by their Iberian cousins with the southeastern portion of the Duchy of Samsh-vilde, where their capital of Ts'urtavi was situated, the southern portion of that of Khunani, and the land of T'rialet'i.²⁰⁰ The History of Leontius of Ruisi refers to the conversion to Christianity of P'eroz *and* of his men.²⁰¹ This can mean one of several things: that Leontius speaks only of the conversion of P'eroz and his Iranian *retinue*, or, if he has the *people* of Gogarene in mind, then that either he exaggerates, or else the Conversion of Armenia in the day of St Gregory the Illuminator some half-century earlier, in which, according to the documents of the Gregorian cycle, the then Gusharid Vitaxa had participated, had not involved many of his subjects.²⁰² The end of the Mihranid Dynasty in Gogarene came at the closing of the eighth century.²⁰³

Peeters has thought that, since Koriwn could not have been in error on matters of nomenclature involved, his 'Prince of Tašir' must be distinct from a Vitaxa: *Ste Sousanik* 273. But 'Ar[š]uša' was a name typical of the Mihranid Vitaxae (*infra* n. 203); and the fact that Ps. Moses qualifies elsewhere (2.8) Tašir as a *sephakanut'iwn* seems to indicate that, until the time when, in Lazarus, a Prince of Tašir does indeed appear simultaneously with a Vitaxa, and is among the Armenian Princes whereas the latter is counted among the Iberian, Tašir belonged to the Vitaxate. The term *sephakanut'iwn* designated the appanage of a *sepuh* or cadet of a princely dynasty: I at n. 186; Adontz, *Armenija* 473-475. (The present-day significance of the term is 'property'; Markwart is inexact, in *Genealogie* 35, 74, when interpreting *sephakan* as 'allodial' instead of as 'appanaged'.) Very likely, thus, it belonged to the Vitaxate as the appanage of the hereditary *sepuh* (*nec/awag sepuh*: I *loc. cit.*). In this sense, Fr Peeters must be right: Aršusa of Tašir may well have succeeded to the Vitaxate *after* the visit of Maštoc'; and Ps. Moses in calling him Vitaxa already then may have been merely projecting back his subsequent title. — The Princes of Ašoc' are found in Lazarus 23, 42; and in Ps. Moses 2.8; 2.78, 82 (Tačat, Gušarid Prince of Ašoc', at the time of the Conversion of Armenia); 3.65 (Hmayeak, Prince of Ašoc', at the time of the abolition of the Armenian Monarchy, A.D. 428); for their land, see Hübschmann 365. The reference to Tačat of Ašoc' (Ps. Moses 2.78, 82) must, if true, signify that there had once been a Gušarid line of Ašoc' — and Ps. Moses regards the House of Ašoc' as Gušarid: 2.78 — that to Hmayeak (3.65) indicates that the separation of Ašoc' from Gogarene took place earlier than that of Tašir. That a house of such importance as that of Ašoc' should have been left unmentioned in Faustus, is unthinkable; it must therefore be supposed that there was indeed no dynastic continuity between Tačat and Hmayeak.

²⁰⁰ V § 16 and n. 164; cf. also *supra* n. 174 (for the Armenian inclusion of T'rialet'i in Gogarene).

²⁰¹ Leont. Mrov. 131 (*da erman misman*). The word *er*, it will be recalled, meant both 'army' and 'people': I n. 136.

²⁰² Gogarene, nevertheless, was evangelized almost simultaneously with Armenia. The insistence of the Armenian tradition on the apostolate of St Gregory, or of his homonymous nephew, in Iberia (and Albania) must, as another manifestation of the perennial confusion between the Iberian kingdom and the Iberian Vitaxate (*supra* at n. 156), in actual fact, refer to the latter.

²⁰³ See Appendix A II.

The tragic upheaval of the period, which brought about the extinction of the Iberian Mihranids as well — first the Guaramid line [§ 25.2] and then, actually only after the turn of the century, the Chosroid [§ 25.1].²⁰⁴ — may also have been responsible for the disappearance from the historical scene of the House of Gogarene.²⁰⁵ Most of their inheritance, as also that of the Guaramids and the Chosroids, was gathered in the ninth century by the Iberian branch of the Bagratids [§ 12.9].

12. The Vitaxae, it has been seen, did not belong to the post-Arsacid period of Armenian history. The Vitaxae of Gogarene alone survived the fall of the Arsacid Monarchy, but they continued outside Armenian society, as members of the Iberian princely group. Turning now to the remaining Princes of Great Armenia, we must, so as to facilitate our enquiry, observe the triple division of them which has been proposed earlier.²⁰⁶ Accordingly, the houses which existed in Great Armenia during both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period will be taken up first; next will come those which existed only in the Arsacid period; and, finally, those which existed only in the post-Arsacid period. The simplest way of examining them is (with the exception of the Arsacids themselves) according to the alphabetical order. We begin by examining the houses of the first category.

1. The Princes Arshakuni (the Arsacids). The King of Great Armenia being largely the first among equals and, more particularly, as sovereign of the royal demesne (composed *inter alia* of parts of Ayrarat and of Carenitis in Upper Armenia) being indeed but one of the princes, the Arsacid Dynasty of Armenia may be included in this list, but — *à tout seigneur tout honneur* — spoken of first. It survived the downfall of the Third Monarchy not only as the collateral Arsacid lines of Kamsarakan [16] and Asthianene [§ 7], treated here under separate headings, but also as the line of Arshakuni, bearing the dynastic patronymic of, and descended from the last, and indeed only, western Arsacid, Arsaces III (387-c.390). This house played a leading role in Roman Armenia and the Roman Empire down to the mid-seventh century when it is last heard of; and the imperial house of the Heraclians (610-711) was related to it.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ See IV for the Guaramid and Chosroid lines of the Iberian Mihranids.

²⁰⁵ Some problems concerning the Vitaxae of Gogarene and the presumed Diarchy of Iberia are discussed in Appendix B.

²⁰⁶ *Supra* § 4.

²⁰⁷ The surviving Arsacids must have been the descendants of the Western royal line, and so settled in the Roman zone: the national historians, who deal chiefly with the Iranian zone, do not know of them (Adontz, *Armenija* 123), but a goodly amount of information about them is available from both the Roman Empire and the Roman zone of Armenia (*ibid.* 123-124): Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3; *Bell. vand.* 4.24-28; *Bell. goth.* 7.31-32; John of

It has been noted that, upon the death of Arsaces III, the Emperor, his suzerain, did not allow anyone to succeed him. This was the non-violent end of the Western Kingdom. Its territory, corresponding to the province of Upper Armenia, had claimed, as a kingdom, the name of Great Armenia and was now called by the Roman government, officially it seems, Inner Armenia. Together with the princely States it comprised, it was placed under a civil official, the *comes Armeniae*, representing the Emperor.²⁰⁸ Upper or Inner Armenia contained nine cantons or 'lands' but the number of the princely houses that were of Arsaces III's obedience was far smaller. We know only of the Mamikonids [8] in Acilisene and of the Bagratids [9] in Syspirtis; the dethroned royal house — the Arshakunis — now became the third princely house of the province, ruling, it seems, precisely their old demesne of Carenitis.²⁰⁹ The rest of the territory, being princeless, must have been under

Ephesus, *Saints* 13; 21; Sebēos 32 (180, 188), 34 (221) — the last-named is indeed an Armenian historian, but he speaks of the epoch following the Heraclian thrust against Iran, when Roman influence made itself felt in Iranian Armenia; Eliseus 6 (156) also mentions members of the Royal House as taking part in the insurrection of 450-451: this may indicate that some of the Aršakunis volunteered to join the action beyond the Roman border. What is of interest is that Procopius, 2.3.32-54, in the text of the complaint of the Armenian Arsacid Princes (from *Magna Armenia*) before the Great King, twice makes them say that they are descended from Arsaces III (cf. *infra* n. 212). The collateral Arsacid branches of Asthianene and Kamsarakan, moreover, were never called Arsacids. And so, also, when Sebēos 32 (188) refers to the Aršakunis as the Emperor Heraclius's relatives (*merjawork'*), the descendants of Arsaces III must be meant. The reference in question, by the way, is not precise enough to enable one to assert, as is sometimes done, that Heraclius was a descendant of the Arsacids, an Arsacid himself. On the basis of Theophylactus, 3.1 and 3.6, A. Pernice concludes that the Emperor's father was born 'probabilmente in Carin (Theodosiopolis)': *L'imperatore Eraclio* (Florence 1905) 25 and n. 1. Carenitis was indeed an Arsacid principality (*infra* at n. 209).

²⁰⁸ Procopius, *De aed.* 3.1.14-15; Ps. Moses 3.46; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 116-119; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 289. The *comitiva Armeniae* was not, apparently, instituted immediately upon the death of Arsaces III, for it is not yet mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum* (Adontz 117). The death of Arsaces occurred, according to Ps. Moses, 3.46, two and a half years after the Partition of 387. — The name of Great Armenia was, obviously, applied to that section of the once united realm because, from the moment of the Partition, each of the two rival kingdoms claimed to be the Great Armenia; cf. Adontz 29. Its official Roman name, after the death of Arsaces, however, seems to have been, first, *Armenia Interior* and, only later, *Magna Armenia*: Stein 289; *infra* at n. 214.

²⁰⁹ Adontz, *Armenija* 120, 121, 123, 124; he must be mistaken in suggesting that every canton of Upper Armenia constituted a principality (cf. *infra* at n. 291). As for Carenitis (Karin), it is clear from Faustus, 5.44, that it was a demesne of the young Arsaces III and his brother Vologases; there also took place the combat of King Varazdat and Manuel Mamikonean: Faustus 5.37; cf. Adontz 122-123. It will be remembered in this connexion that the necropolis of the Armenian Arsacids, at Camachus-Ani, was also situated in Upper Armenia, cf. I n. 168. In the land of Carenitis was situated the city of Karin, subsequently

the direct rule first of the Armenian Crown and Church and now of the Roman State. The Imperial treatment of the princes, on the other hand, appears to have been wholly identical with that accorded to the trans-Euphratensian Pentarchs. The Court of Constantinople at first scrupulously respected the princely rights, and a delicate coexistence of authority was achieved between the princes, and the Arsacids among them, and the *comes*. In other words, what followed the death of Arsaces III affected his polity rather than his dynasty.²¹⁰ This distinction between the territory which became *de facto* a mere Roman province and the vassal States can alone explain why, on the one hand, we have an edict of the Emperor Anastasius of 496 regarding the Armenian taxes²¹¹ and, on the other, we are made to understand by Procopius that the Princes of Inner Armenia were not, until Justinian's day, obliged to submit to Imperial taxation.²¹² The princely States of this Roman de-

Theodosiopolis: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 287-290. This city existed there before the Partition, as a village at least, as is clear from the text of the *Narratio* 5-9; Garitte, *La Narratio* 65-69. It would have been perfectly natural for the Imperial government to choose as the seat of the Roman viceroy of the newly annexed Western Kingdom the chief seat of the royal demesne, which must have served as a capital while that kingdom lasted. — Procopius also mentions Bassaces, son-in-law of the Arsacid John, who in fact led the Armenian delegation to the Great King Chosroes I (*infra* at n. 218): *Bell. pers.* 2. 3, and who later led a group of Armenian notables back to the Emperor: *ibid.* 2.21. The name of course renders the Armenian Vasak, and it is Adontz's opinion that Eliseus's reference (4[120]) to a Vasak Mamikonian who was a Roman vassal, among the insurgents of 450-451, to which there is no parallel reference in Lazarus, is misplaced and that the Vasak of Eliseus is merely a memory of the Vasak (Bassaces) of 539. It may, however, be assumed that both existed and both belonged to the Mamikonids; and that this can have no bearing on the date of Eliseus (cf. *Introd.* at n. 6). At any rate, Lazarus, 33(134) records the appeals of the insurgent princes of 450 as being addressed to the Emperor, to other Armenian Princes who were no longer in Great Armenia, and to the Prince of Acilisene (Ekeleac'). Now Acilisene was originally a Gregorid [§ 13.11] allod (Faustus 3.2; 4.14) and it must have passed, as part of the Gregorid inheritance to the Mamikonids. Thus the appeal recorded by Lazarus and the response related by Eliseus complement each other. All this indicates the existence of a separate (short-lived no doubt) Roman line of the Mamikonids, in Acilisene: Adontz 124-125. — The only other princely house in Upper Armenia, mentioned by Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3, as τῶν Ἀσπετιανῶν γένος is that of the Bagratuni-Aspetuni; cf. **III/II** n. 83.

²¹⁰ Adontz, *Armenija* 116-117; for the trans-Euphratensian Princes, see *supra* § 7.

²¹¹ *Cod. Just.* 10.17.13 (τὰ ἀρμενιακά δημόσια).

²¹² Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3.32-39 (complaint of the Armenian Princes before Chosroes): Εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι, ὃ δέσποτα, ἐκείνου Ἀρσάκου ἀπόγονοι δὲ δὴ οὔτε τῆς Πάρθων βασιλείας ἀλλότριος ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, ἥνικα ὑπὸ Πάρθοις ἔκειτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανὴς γέγονε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενός ἦσσαν ... Ἀρσάκης γὰρ ὁ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐξέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἅπαντες οἱ κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ μέλλοντες πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα προσήκειν τὰ τε ἄλλα βιοτεύουσιν κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ φόβον ὑπο-

pendency were, accordingly, exactly what were those of 'Other Armenia': *civitates foederatae* — vassal States possessed of complete political and military autonomy and complete immunity from any civil, fiscal, or military interference from the Empire.²¹³

Exactly as in the case of the Pentarchs, the end of this arrangement came with Justinian, through the same legal acts and with the same contempt for the Empire's commitments. Already before August 528, Inner Armenia became officially a province, under a *praeses*, called *Magna Armenia*.²¹⁴ Then, in creating, in that year, the *magister militum per Armeniam*, placed in com-

τελεῖς οὐδαμῇ ἔσονται. καὶ διεσωσάμεθα τὰ ξυγκείμενα ... οὐχ ἡμῖν μὲν φόρον ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν [Justinian] οὐ πρότερον οὖσαν ... To be noted in this connexion: (1) the reference to the 'abdication' of Arsaces III: a typical instance of the self-righteous euphemism of messianic cosmocracies; for the reality, see Ps. Moses 3.46. — (2) the admission of the existence of definite *conditions* regarding the Arsacid (and doubtless other princely) immunity from *any* interference, especially fiscal, in connexion with *Magna Armenia's* becoming a Roman dependency. — (3) the assertion that Justinian was the first to infringe this arrangement after the peace of 532 (2.3.36-37), especially its fiscal aspect. Finally, Procopius refers, in particular (I think), to their dispossession when he makes them say, 2.3.33: πάρεσμεν δὲ τανῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅπαντες δοῦλοί τε καὶ δραπεταὶ γεγεννημένοι, οὐχ ἐκούσιοι μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἠναγκασμένοι ὥς μάλιστα ... One may wonder whether *δοῦλοι* in this context does not signify 'subjects,' as opposed to 'dynasts,' i.e., 'sovereigns.' In *De aed.* 3.1.4-17, Procopius returns to the story of the Partition of 387, but in more detail and, so, more confusedly. His version telescopes together two events: the Partition and the earlier co-kingship of Arsaces and Vologases; it gives wrong names to Arsaces's father and brother (Arsaces and Tigranes respectively); it supplies the Partition with a wrong chronology (cf. Garitte, *La Narratio* 68); and, of course, it repeats the pious legend of the last King's 'abdication.' But what is of importance here is the repeated reference to definite *conditions* (ἐπὶ ξυνθήκαις τισίν: 3.1.12) on which the Arsacids (and, to repeat, undoubtedly the two other princely houses) accepted (after the Partition) the suzerainty of the Roman Emperor: Adontz, *Armenija* 111-112. These *ξυγκείμενα* or *ξυνθήκαι* must be precisely, the *foedus* (*non aequum*) which bound these princes to the Emperor: *ibid.* 113. The distinction proposed here between annexed territories and vassal States makes it unnecessary to wonder, in connexion with the law of Anastasius of 496, whether the latter might not have been only *civitates stipendiariae*, as does Adontz 116. — For an example of the spoliation of Armenia by the Roman officials, see Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.3. 5-7; cf. *Bell. goth.* 7.32.7.

²¹³ The *comes Armeniae* had no regular troops under his authority: Procopius, *De aed.* 3.1.15-16; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 117. Adontz's suggestion (119) that the Princes of Inner Armenia were, from the point of view of the Imperial government, *praesides*, under the *comes* as a vicar, I cannot think to be correct because of the parallel situation in 'Other Armenia,' where the princes were simply what they were: vassal sovereigns, without any recourse to bureaucratic euphemism. — For Inner Armenia between Theodosius I and Justinian I, see K. Güterbock, in *Festgabe der jurist. Fakultät zu Königsberg f. J. Th. Schirmer* (1909) 20-29.

²¹⁴ Nov. 20 (18 March 536), cf. Nov. 8 (15 April 535); cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 289; Adontz, *Armenija* 160-175.

mand of five *duces* and four legions, the Emperor proclaimed abolished the civil office of *comes Armeniae* and, thus, tacitly abrogated two princely rights: immunity from Imperial garrisons and the right to maintain their own armies.²¹⁵ In 532, the Princes of Inner Armenia were dispossessed and their sovereign rights abolished; this was implied, again tacitly, in the law of 18 March 536 instituting a new civil organization of the Roman zone of Armenia. *Magna Armenia* changed its official name once more and was now called First Armenia, to be ruled by a Proconsul with the rank of a *spectabilis*, residing at Justinianopolis.²¹⁶ Finally came the *coup de grâce*: the series of edicts, beginning A.D. 535, which quashed the Armenian system of agnatic succession aiming at the suppression of the last remaining power of the now 'mediatized' princes, — their landowning fortunes.²¹⁷ We do not know the degree of success the Emperor achieved in this undertaking; there was indeed a revolt in 538 in First Armenia led by the Arsacid Princes, who, in the following year, appealed to the Great King for help against not only the Imperial injustice of their dethronement, but also the Imperial bureaucratic oppression which followed it — and this appeal was one of the causes of Justinian's second Persian War.²¹⁸ We do know, however, that, after the age of Justinian, the Bagratids and the Mamikonids play no role in the Roman zone, being confined to their 'Pers-armenian' principalities, while the Arsacids seem to have migrated to the Empire, and, if the Heraclians were their descendants, with a vengeance.²¹⁹

The rest of the princely houses, of all the three chronological categories, belonged geographically to real Great Armenia, that overwhelmingly larger moiety of it which passed in the Partition of 387 under Iranian control. There, paralleling the Roman zone, the princes were immediate sovereign vassals

²¹⁵ *Supra* at n. 105.

²¹⁶ *Supra* at n. 107.

²¹⁷ *Supra* at n. 108.

²¹⁸ Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 3.1; c. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 364. Since the leader of this insurrection, Vasak, appears to have been a Mamikonid and not an Arsacid (*supra* n. 209), Procopius very likely simplifies the story by making of it an *Arsacid* insurrection. The paucity of dynasts in Inner Armenia must have helped to create the impression that they were all of one family.

²¹⁹ See Adontz, *Armenija* 201-210 for the results of Justinian's policies in Armenia, especially in connexion with the immediate influx of Armenians to the Empire. Procopius bears witness not only to the numbers of Armenians in the Imperial armed service, but also to the high esteem in which they were held and the high positions in the Empire which they occupied; cf., e.g., the case of Artabanus Aršakuni, successively *magister militum Africae*, *magister militum praesentalis*, and *magister militum per Thraciam*, whose conspiracy against his life Justinian, with something like a *parvenu's* awe before the royal birth, treated with incredible clemency: *Bell. goth.* 7.31-32.

of the Sassanid emperor — the *šahrdārān* of the Iranian imperial constitution — supervised at first by the Iranian equivalent of the *comes Armeniae*, the *marzpān*. Less totalitarian and more aristocratic than the Caesars, the Great Kings never attempted to destroy the dynasts under their aegis. Subsequently, as has been noted, one of the local princes came to be invested with viceregal functions; and out of this arose the Principate.²²⁰ It must be added that from the point of view of the Armenian Princes themselves the boundaries separating the three units: Roman 'Great Armenia,' Roman 'Other Armenia,' and Iranian Armenia, hardly existed.²²¹ And so, to continue with the houses of both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period, we come to the list that follows.

2. The Princes of Akē reigned in the Carduchian land of that name, which lay between the upper valley of the Centritis and the Lycus (Upper Zab), a wedge between the margraviates of Arzanene and Adiabene, in what was subsequently southern Vaspurakan. Their immemorial dynastic status can be elicited from the historical tradition preserved in Pseudo-Moses; they are last heard of at the beginning of the tenth century as vassals of the Artsrunis of Vaspurakan.²²²

3. The Princes Amatuni were a Caspio-Median, or Mannaeian, dynastic house from Artaz, with the city of Shavarshan (later Maku, in northeastern Vaspurakan), situated between lakes Van and Urmia (Mantiane), which subsequently ruled a State in Aragatsotn, in Ayrarat, on the western shore of lake Sevan, centred in the castle of Oshakan. They were variously attributed a descent from Astyages of Media and a Hebrew descent. Dispossessed by the Arabs in 772, but still holding Artaz, they appear in the ninth century as vassals of the Artsrunis, and, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, under the name of the Vach'utids, as Princes of Aragatsotn, Siracene (Shirak)

²²⁰ For the institution of the Principate in Armenia and Iberia, see IV § 15; *supra* § 3.

²²¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 179.

²²² Ps. Moses, 2.8, though stressing according to his wont (I at nn. 172-173) the 'raising' of this house by the mythical King Vologases, nevertheless places it in the same category as the unquestionably dynastic houses of Anjewac'i, Corduene, and Moxoene. It is true that he qualifies the supposititious 'first prince' of Moxoene as a brigand chief, but this seems to be rather an allegory of the rugged character of the Carduchian land and its inhabitants. On the other hand, he says that the three houses, of Anjawac'i, Corduene, and Akē, were 'of those cantons (*'i noyn gawarac'*)' and this, in the circumstances, must mean their chieftainship of these territorialized tribes, that is, their dynastic origin. Ellseus, 4 (119), 5 (129), mentions Ėnju, Prince of Akē and also the House of Akē (*Akēac'ik'n*) as taking part in the insurrection of 450-451. The tenth-century historian Thomas Arcruni is the last to mention this house: 2.6 (186), 3.4, 29; Thom. Contin. 4.3. For the principedom, see Adontz, *Armenija* 321; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 344.

and Nig, with the great castle of Anberd, and vassals of the Armeno-Georgian Mkhargrdzelis of North Armenia.²²³

4. The Princes Andzevats'i, of the canton of the same name with the chief castle of Kangvar, southeast of Van and northwest of Akē, were possibly a branch of the ancient Medo-Carduchian Princes of Mahkert [§ 6]. The historical tradition, at all events, lends support to their immemorial dynastic origin. Tachat Andzevats'i was Presiding Prince of Armenia, in the Caliph's

²²³ Faustus 3.8, 14; 4.4; Lazarus 23, 25, 31, 33, 37, 42, 47, 63, 67; Eliseus 2 (55), 4 (119), 5 (129, 137), 8 (250); 505 Acts (*infra* Table X); Sebēos 6 (78), 11 (90), 30 (175); Ps. Moses 2, 57, 77, 84, 85; 3.6, 9, 43, 50, 65; Leontius 34 (144), 42 (168: migration to the Empire of Šapuh Amatuni and his son Haman, with 12,000 followers, in 791); Thomas 2.6; 3.4, 24. For the House of Vač'utean, see the genealogy, based on epigraphic data, in Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie* (St Petersburg 1849-1851) III 99-100; and Zacharias the Deacon, *Cart.* 166. — In 1784, a family of Amatuni was received in the princely nobility of Georgia and in 1826 in that of the Russian Empire: *Spiski* 5-6. — Like the princely houses of the Mardpets, Mandakuni, and Murac'an, the Amatunis must have been of Median, i.e., of Caspio-Median or Ma(n)tianian-Mannaean, origin: Adontz, *Armenija* 303-304, 321, 418-419; Ļap'anc'yan, *Xafasa* 140, 136; cf. also, for the largely pre-Iranian Mannaean, I. Aliev, 'Midiya - drevnejšee gosudarstvo na territorii Azerbajdžana,' *Očerki po drevnej istorii Azerbajdžana* (Baku 1956) 60-123; Markwart, *Süd-armenien* 430-434; Herzfeld, *Arch. Hist. Iran* 11-12. It is interesting that Ps. Moses, 2.57 (184-185), while announcing the Iranian origin of the Amatunis, asserts at the same time that they were of Jewish origin. One may wonder what influence the Bagratid [9] tradition of the same origin, so dear to him, may have had on this. As is known, the memory of the Urartian kings was fresh in the historical tradition of Arsacid Armenia (I n. 84), and so also could easily have been the memory of some of the neighbouring and contemporaneous Median-Mannaean dynasts (for these dynasts, see, e.g., Aliev, *op. cit.*, 91, 94; the Assyrians styled them 'kings' = *šarrāni* or 'toparchs' = *bēl-dli*). Of these, none was perhaps more entitled to be remembered than the ally of Urartu, Bagdatti, dynast of Ušdiš, who paid for this alliance by being skinned alive by Sargon II of Assyria in 715/4 B.C. (cf. Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 97-99, 301; Aliev, *op. cit.* 102-103) and who may be supposed to have indeed been remembered in the region where he had ruled. Now Ušdiš, for all the uncertainty about its precise location (see Manandyan, *O nek. sporn. probl.* 39-47, on this problem and for a critique of Thureau-Dangin and Adontz), was — and this is certain — in the region of lake Urmia-Mantiane, precisely the area where the House of Amatuni originated. Assuming that Ps. Moses had somehow heard of Bagdatti, it could be explained that to his mind at least the combined notion of the proximity between the Amatuni allod and Bagdatti's land and of the affinity between Bagdatti's name and that of the Bagratid eponym (both indeed derived from the Old Pers. *bagadāta*) suggested that the two houses, of Amatuni and of Bagratuni were, if not of the same ancestry — and he must have been aware of the fact that they did not consider themselves related, — at least of the same ethnic origin. Given Ps. Moses's theory of the Bagratid origin, which included the derivation of 'Bagarat' from a Hebrew name (cf. III/II § 15 at n. 100), that ethnic origin could only have been Jewish. For the House of Amatuni and its lands, see also Grousset, *Histoire* 293; Laurent, *Arménie* 116; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 252, 410; Tournebize, 'Amatouniq,' *DHGE* 2 990-993; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 141-146, 155-157, 185-186; also Karst, *Mythologie* 42.

obedience, in 780-782/5; but after him the house declined and was, by the ninth century, reduced to vassalage by the Artsrunis, who, after the death of the last reigning prince, Mushel, c. 867, succeeded it in Andzevats'ik'.²²⁴

5. The Princes Apahuni were sovereign in the homonymous land in the upper valley of the Arsianias, north of Van, in what was later Turuberan. The historical tradition asserts their greatness and their Haykid origin in common with the Houses of Bznuni [§ 13.6], of Manavazian [§ 13.16], and of Orduni [§ 13.78], which signified their — probably royal — Urartian origin. They are last heard of in the mid-ninth century, when, having been dispossessed by the Qaysid emirs of Manazkert, they were obliged to settle in Vaspurakan and to accept the suzerainty of the Artsrunis.²²⁵

6, 7. The Princes Aravelian or Aruelian²²⁶ and the Princes Aravenian²²⁷ held territories in Ayrarat, the former being traditionally descended from the Kings of Alania (Ossetia) and the latter being, together with the Zareh-avanids [§ 13.23], a — traditionally Haykid — line of the Orontids. Both last appear in history in the seventh century.

8. The Princes Artsruni formed a line of the Orontid Dynasty which was settled by the Artaxiad kings away from Sophene, on the Median border and which, together with the related Houses of Arzanene [§ 9] and Gnuni [14], gave up, following the Conversion of Armenia, the pagan Orontid tradition of the descent from the solar god Angl and adopted instead a genealogical claim that traced them back to King Sennacherib of Assyria. In addition to their princedoms of Greater and Lesser Albak, with the chief castle of Ha-

²²⁴ Also written *Anjawac'i*. Faustus 2.12; 4.11; 5.6, 32; Lazarus 23, 25, 42, 47, 70; Eliseus 5 (129), 8 (250); Ps. Moses 2.8, 62; 3.39; Ps. Zenobius 25; Leontius 37 (155), 39 (158-161); Thomas 2.6; 3.4, 8 (Atom Anjewac'i, martyred in 853), 15; *supra* § 6, for Mahkert. See also Adontz, *Armenija* 321; Markwart, *Südarmerien* 359-389, 509-516; Grousset, *Histoire* 334-336; Laurent, *Arménie* 97; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 342-343; Tournebize, 'Antzevatsiq,' DHGE 3 884-885; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 185. — In the tenth century, the Prince of Anjewac'ik' was entitled by the Court of Constantinople ἀρχων τοῦ Ἀδζαν (< Arabic *az-Zawazān*); cf. Const. Porphy., *De cerim.* 2.48; cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien* 359; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze* 147, 170. Kangvar = now Kengever, on the Kasrik-su/Norduz-çai.

²²⁵ The origin of this house is indicated in Ps. Moses 2.8; 3.32; in 3.65 Manēč Apahuni is mentioned, who also figures, in the events of 450-451, in Lazarus 23, 25, 36; Eliseus 2 (55), 3 (95), 4 (119). This dynasty is also mentioned in the 505 and 555 Acts (*infra* Table XD); Sebēos 18 (104); Thomas 2.6. Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 312-313; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 329-330; Grousset, *Histoire* 293; Tournebize, 'Apahouniq,' DHGE 3 915-916; Markwart, *Südarmerien* 456, 459, cf. 501-508; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 167-168.

²²⁶ Ps. Moses 2.8; Lazarus 23, 42, 47; Eliseus 8 (250) (P'apak Arawelean in the insurrection of 450-451); 505 Acts; Sebēos 30 (175), 35 (226); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 305.

²²⁷ Ps. Moses 1.31; cf. 2.8; Ėrstom Arawenean took part in the events of the Partition of 387; 3.43. The last mention (Ara[we]nean); Sebēos 35 (226). Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 305; III/1 § 16 (7).

damakert, in the upper valley of the Lycus, the Artsrunis appear to have held, before A.D. 371, also the Vitaxate of Adiabene [§ 6]. Soon after the abolition of the Arsacid Monarchy, they acquired the Principality of Mardpetakan [§ 7], the most powerful one in the region later to be called Vaspurakan and hitherto the appanage of the Grand Chamberlains; they inherited c. 867 the Principality of Andzevats'ik [4]; between 772 and 890, they spread their rule to the whole of Vaspurakan and to the Bagratid [9] princedoms of Kogovit and Tamorit; and in the eleventh century, to the Bagratid princedom of Moxoene [§ 9]. In 908, Khach'ik-Gagik Artsruni assumed, with the consent of the Caliphate, the title of king, which the Court of Constantinople recognized as that of *ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων*. In 1021, under the double pressure of Seljuq attacks and Byzantine intrigues, King Sennacherib-John abdicated in favour of the Emperor Basil II, receiving in compensation domains in Cappadocia, and his realm became a Byzantine province. A branch of this dynasty took part in the formation of Armenia-in-Exile and held Tarsus of the Emperor in the eleventh century. Another branch, that of Mahkanaberd or Mankaberd, moved into the orbit of Georgia and played a considerable role there in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, especially in the person of Sadun III Mankaberdeli († 1283), High Constable and Atabeg of Georgia, and Prime Minister of the Il-Khan Abaqa, disappearing from history with his grandson Sibuch'i at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²²⁸

²²⁸ Arm. Agath. 112/795; Gk Agath. 136; Gk Life of St Gregory 98; Arab. Life of St Gregory 86; *supra* List A; Faustus 3.18; 4.14, 58, 59; 5.38, 43; Lazarus 23, 25, 33, 39, 42, 47, 70; Eliseus 2 (55), 5 (129), 6 (151, 156), 8 (250, 251); Sebēos 11 (90), 18 (104), 23 (121, 124); Ps. Moses 1.23; 2.7, 29, 35; 3.29, 39, 48, 65; Ps. Zenobius 25, 27, 30; Leontius 30 (130-131), 32 (133-135), 34 (144, 146), 40 (162-165: martyrdom of Hamazasp and Isaac Arcruni, 786); Cyriacus 197, 198, 203, 351, 355; Gregory of Akner 11 (336), 12 (346); this dynasty is prominent on the pages of Thomas and Thom. Contin., John Kath., Asolik, Matth. Edess., Vardan; also in Const. Porphy., *De cerim* 2.48 (1268); Mesch. Chron. 237-322. See also III/I; Adontz, *Armenija* 319-320, 321, 413-415, 490; Justi, *Namenbuch* 416, 458; Grousset, *Histoire* 292-293, 643, and *passim*; Laurent, *Arménie* 83, 87-89, and *passim*; 'Un féodal arménien au ix^e siècle,' REA 2/2 (1922); Markwart, *Brānšahr* 175-178; *Südarmenien* 79*-96*, 210 n. 3 (210-212), 357-358, 389-400, 426, 509-516; S. Eremyan, 'Agarcinskaja nadpis' 1184, *Sbornik v čest' Akad. I. A. Orbeli* 78-84 (I have not found access to this author's other studies dealing with the Arcrunids of Mahkanaberd); M. Brosset, 'Sur les couvents arméniens d'Haghat et de Sinahin,' MA 6/5-6 (1873) 605-628; Tournebize, 'Ardzrouni,' DHGE 3 1627-1630; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 344, 339-347; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 171-178; *supra* § 6 for Adiabene. — The Arcrunis claimed to have been Christians from the days of Prince Xuran, supposedly baptized by St Thaddaeus long before the official conversion of the 'first Christian Kingdom' under Tiridates III: Thomas 1.6 (88). *Premiers barons chrétiens* indeed! — An Arcrunid origin has been claimed for the Eastern Emperor Leo V. The Byzantine chronicle of George the Monk, 2 (780-782), on the basis of a lost work of

9. The Princes Bagratuni (the Bagratids) were a separate line of the Orontids that was appanaged, while the latter still reigned in Armenia, with Bagravandene, at the sources of the Arsanias, in southern Ayrarat. Like all the Orontids, they claimed, in pagan days, a descent from the dynasty's tutelary solar deity Angl, abandoning, in Christian times, this claim for another: to be descended, together with most of the Armenian dynasts, from the once-divine and now merely heroic primogenitor of the nation, Hayk. Later still, a Hebrew origin was ascribed to them; this version was, in the eighth-ninth century, further elaborated as the celebrated legend of their

the Constantinopolitan patriarch Nicephorus I (806-815) (cf. P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* [Oxford 1958] 179-180), asserts Leo's (Armenian) descent from the sons of Sennacherib of Assyria, who fled to Armenia upon murdering their father. This indeed was the family tradition of the Orontid line to which the Arcrunis belonged: III/1 § 12, 15, 16. It has been therefore assumed that Leo's connexion was with the House of Arcruni: Adontz, 'Sur l'origine de Léon V, empereur de Byzance,' A 2 (1937) 1-10. Cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien* 210 n. 3 (= 210-212); Alexander 126 n. 7: 'the connexion with the Armenian princely family of the Arzrunis, however, which is clearly implied by Georgios Monachos, may well be legendary and is not proved by Georgios' assertion.' All this calls for two remarks. First, a genealogical 'legend' that is contemporaneous with the person concerned (because it is not George's assertion, but Nicephorus's) is more than a legend: it is a claim; though, to be sure, it need not, for that reason alone, be more true. Quite obviously, too, this claim was not made for Leo by Nicephorus, who detested him and who, moreover, can hardly have known anything about the dynastic aristocracy of Armenia and its *chimères*; it must have come from Leo himself or his Armenian adherents. This, I submit, rather tends to make the claim respectable. The only difficulty with all this — and this is the second point — is that there is no indication whatsoever that the Arcrunis are necessarily implied in this claim, because the related House of Gnuni [14] had exactly the same genealogical tradition (as had the Vitaxae of Arzanene [§ 9] who, however, disappeared long before Leo's day). The Gnunis, moreover, had already claimed the Empire a century and a half previously. They had just lost their princely State, after the insurrection of 771-772, and been obliged to seek refuge with the Bagratids in southern Tayk', precisely on the frontier of the Empire. It is more likely that the dispossessed Gnunis, rather than the Arcrunis, who were then growing in power and importance, should have sought fortune in the Empire; and this *émigré* status would explain the comparatively modest character of Leo's beginning. (One may recall the role in the Empire of the Armenian nobles dispossessed through Justinian's oppression; cf. *supra* on the Arsacids.) Finally, had Leo V really been an Arcruni, he would not have been passed over in silence by the family historian Thomas Arcruni; or, for that matter, by other Armenian historians, but the *dégringolade* of the Gnunis explains this silence perfectly. — Ps. Moses, 2.7, would ascribe to this house the hereditary office of Eagle-bearer (*arciu-uni*); but this is only an instance of his fanciful etymologizing. The only authentic reference to the eagle-banners of Armenia is in Faustus 4.2, and it connects them with the Mamikonid High Constables. No doubt the anti-Mamikonid Ps. Moses attempted here, as it were, to kill two birds with one stone: explain the name of Arcruni and deprive the Mamikonids of at least some of their privileges. It is strange that Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 178 n. 4, should have so accepted Ps. Moses as to suggest that possibly the Arcrunis were High Constables before the Mamikonids. There is nothing to support this view.

descent from the King-Prophet David of Israel. By the time of the conversion of Armenia, at the beginning of the fourth century, the Bagratids appear reigning elsewhere: in Syspirtis, on the middle Acampsis, with the great castle of Smbatavan or Bayberd, and, possibly already then, in Kogovit, east of Bagravandene, dominated by the Castle of Dariunk', held by the Arsacid kings, as well as in Tamoritis (Tmorik'), at the southernmost point of later Vaspurakan, in Gordyene. At that time they appear also enfeoffed of the offices of Coronant of Armenia (*lagadir*) and of Guardian of the Caucasian and Tzannic, i.e., Moschic Mountains: a sort of assistant-vitaxa of the North. In addition to these offices, the Bagratids bore a special, gentilitial, title of Aspet (originally, Master of the Horse), whence their earliest recorded, though not long-lived patronymic of Aspetuni was derived. Bagadates, Tigranes the Great's strategus and viceroy of Syria, in the years 83-69 B.C., appears to have been the earliest-known member of this family; and it is not devoid of plausibility that both its principal patronymic and its claims to a Hebrew origin were partly connected with the memory of this renowned ancestor.

As early as in the second century a Bagratid branch seems to have removed to Iberia and to have held there, until the fifth, the Duchy of Odzrkhe. Between the seventh and the ninth century, twelve Bagratid princes held the office of Presiding Prince of Armenia (or its equivalents), three of them decorated by the Court of Constantinople with the dignity of Curopalate. In the Arab period, and partly in connexion with the insurrection of 771-772 (in which Smbat VII, Prince of the Bagratids and Ruling High Constable of Armenia, lost his life), the Bagratids lost Kogovit, Tamoritis, and their momentary control of Vaspurakan to the Artsrunis [8], but acquired from the Mamikonids [18] most of Taraun, southern Tayk', and (in 855/862) Bagravandene; from the Kamsarakans [16] (through purchase) Arsharunik' and Siracene, with the cities of Bagaran and Ani, which were to become Bagratid capitals; as well as Moxoene [§ 9], subsequently lost to the Artsrunis. In 885, the elder line of the house (descended from Smbat VII) re-established, in the person of Ashot V Bagratuni, the Armenian kingship, dormant from 428, as the Fourth Armenian Monarchy. Both the Caliphate and the Eastern Empire concurred with this, the Court of Constantinople rendering — cosmocratically — the Armenian royal title by *ἀρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας*. This dynasty subsequently formed, in addition to the principal branch of the Kings of Kings (after 922/4) of Ani, also the branches of the Princes of Taraun (825/6-966/7, later the Byzantine house of the Taronitae) and of the Kings of Kars (962-1067) — both abdicated in favour of the Empire — as well as of the Kings of Lori and Albania (982-1081) and of Kakhetia (1029-1105) — both conquered by Georgia. The principal branch came to an end when, in 1045, the Byzantines perfidiously bullied King Gagik II

into abdication in favour of the Emperor Constantine IX, granting him in compensation domains in Cappadocia and a palace at Constantinople, and then had him murdered. The younger line (founded by Smbat VII's brother Vasak) passed to Iberia after the events of 772 and there acquired the State of the Guaramid line of the royal house of the Mihranids-Chosroids [§ 25.2]; in 813, it acquired, with Ashot I, the hereditary office of Presiding Prince of Iberia, to which the Imperial Court attached the dignity of Curopalate; in 888, with Adarnase IV, it restored the Iberian Monarchy dormant from 580; in 978, it inherited the Crown of Abasgia (Colchis or West Georgia) [§26.2]; and in 1008 (with Bagrat III) it began the unification of all the Georgian lands, having assumed in 994 the title of King of Kings. This line of the Bagratids continued, subdivided, to reign until the Russian annexation of its Georgian States in the nineteenth century and has survived to this day.²²⁹

10. The Princes of Colthene, on the Siunian border of Vaspurakan, on the left bank of the Araxes, were traditionally ascribed a descent from the — Haykid — House of Siunia [25]. Actually, however, they appear to have

²²⁹ Beginning with the documents of the Gregorian Cycle (*supra* Lists A and B), the Bagratids play a leading role in the pages of the Armenian historians Faustus, Lazarus, Ellseus 3[95], 4[119]), Sebēos, Ps. Moses, Leontius, Thomas, John Kath., Asojik, Moses Kaj., Aristaces, Matt. Edess., Vardan, Cyriacus, Stephen Orbelian, Gregory of Akner, Thomas of Mecop', etc.; in the 505 and 555 Acts; as well as in the pages of the Georgian historians. Among the Byzantines, they are especially prominent in Const. Porphyr., *De adm. imp.* 43, 45, 46; cf. also *De cerim.* 2.48. See III, IV, V; Brosset, *Additions IX* (Histoire des Bagratides géorgiens d'après les auteurs arméniens et grecs, jusqu'au commencement du XI^e siècle); A. Gren, 'Dinastija Bagratidov v Armenii,' ZMNP 290 (1893) 53-139; Markwart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig 1903), esp. Exkurs IV (Der Ursprung der iberischen Bagratiden), transl. into Armenian by M. Hapozean, in AM 73 (1913); *Genealogie; Südarmenien* 495-500; Adontz, *Armenija* 122, 307-308, 400, 402, 405, 411, 415, 447; 'Les Taronites en Arménie et à Byzance,' B 9 (1934) 21-42; 10 (1935) 531-587; 'Les Taronites à Byzance,' B 11 (1936) 21-42; 'Observations sur la généalogie des Taronites,' B 14 (1939) 407-413; Movsēsean, *Kurikian*; Toumanoff, 'The Bagratids of Iberia, from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century,' LeM 74 (1961); *Fifteenth-Cent. Bagr.*; Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* II/2 622-629, 634-638, 642-644; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 406-411, 417-418, 436-438, 467-469; also Grousset, *Histoire*; Laurent, *Arménie*; and Allen, *History* — all *passim*; and Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 287, 336-337, 364-365; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 146-148, 223. — The Georgian Bagratids (Bagrationi) were divided at the end of the fifteenth century into three royal houses, of Georgia proper (Iberia), of Kakhetia, and of Imeretia. In the Russian Empire the several branches of these houses — the Princes of Georgia, Bagration, and Bagration of Muxrani (the first two extinct), of the House of Georgia; the Princes of Georgia and Davidov-Bagration, of the House of Kakhetia; and the Princes Bagration of Imeretia, Bagration, of Imeretia, and Bagration-Davidov (all, save the third branch, extinct), of the House of Imeretia — formed part of the princely nobility of the Empire: *Spiski* 10-11, 12, 31-32, 34, 44; Prince Peter Dolgorukov, *Rossijskaja rodoslovnaja kniga* II (St Petersburg 1855) 5-14; III (*ibid.* 1856), 3, 5-9, 17-22, 458-459, 471-474.

been a Bagratid branch. This house is last heard of with the martyrdom for the Christian faith, from the hands of the Muslims in 737, of Vahan, son of Prince Chosroes of Colthene.²³⁰

11. The Princes Dimak'sian appear divided into two lines, one reigning in Bukha, a canton of Ayrarat, due south of Tayk' (Dimak'sian of Bukha); the other in a part of Siracene, likewise in Ayrarat (Dimak'sian of Siracene). This house is not heard of after the seventh century, when it, or one of its branches, appears to have been reduced to vassalage by the Bagratids.²³¹

12. The Princes Eruanduni were, as their dynastic patronymic asserts, Orontids, with the State, which derived its name from them, situated east of Van and north of Andzevats'ik' (in Vaspurakan); they disappeared from history after the insurrection of 450-451.²³²

13. The Princes Gnt'uni, traditionally ascribed a Canaanite origin and the office of Master of the Wardrobe of Great Armenia, were sovereign in Nig

²³⁰ Ps. Moses, 2.8, claims to have established that the Houses of Colthene (Goit'n) and of Rštuni [23] were branches of the House of Siunia [25]; the geographical position of Colthene could explain in part this statement, but I confess that I am at a loss to understand why Ps. Moses connects the Rštunis with Siunia, unless this be a reference to the Haykid origin of both dynasties, of Siunia and of Rštuni. At the same time, he speaks (2.52) of an early Bagratid prince receiving from the King of Armenia a royal appanage in the settlements of Colthene (*զմասն արքունի, որ 'ի չէնս Դաղթան*). A few lines further, Ps. Moses mentions the Bagratids settling in Tamoritis. It could be supposed, of course, that the earlier reference in Ps. Moses to the House of Colthene applied to an earlier dynasty. The mention of the royal holding there might indicate the extinction of that dynasty and the passing of its State to the Crown, which thus may be supposed to have subsequently granted it to the Bagratids. Tamoritis, at any rate, appears indeed Bagratid (*supra* 9). The sources for this house include also Faustus 3.12; Sebēos 18 (104); Artawazd, *Martyrdom of Vahan of Colthene*; Thomas 3.29; Vardan 72; cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 346; Weissbach, *Κολθηνή*, RE 11/1 1124; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 187-188.

²³¹ The origin of this house is, according to Ps. Moses, 2.47, non-dynastic, which is in keeping with his tendency (I at nn. 172-173), but the tale he tells to account for its origin is merely a play on words, typical of him and so not worth considering. In 3.43 and 45, Ps. Moses mentions Ašxadar Dimak'sean; and we may wonder whether perchance there be some connexion between this house and Ašxadar, King of Alania (Ossetia) and father-in-law of Tiridates the Great. We may remember also the royal Alanian descent traditionally claimed for the Araweļeans [6], who likewise were settled in Ayrarat, perhaps in the vicinity of the Dimak'seans. For the rest, this house is mentioned in Faustus 3.14; Lazarus 23, 30, 35, 39, 47, 78; Eliseus 5 (129), 6 (156), 8 (250) (Hmayeak Dimak'sean was martyred for the faith in 451); Sebēos 17 (101), 18 (104), 35 (226), 38 (242). Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 301, 468.

²³² Mentioned only in Lazarus 70 (in connexion with the insurrection of 450-451); cf. III/I § 16 (8), and, for the geography of their State of Eruandunik', Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 343; Adontz, *Armenija* 321. Though mentioned first only in 450-451, this family must, to have kept that ancient patronymic, have branched off from the Orontid stock at a much earlier epoch. This is not to say, of course, that the Orontids ever called themselves Orontids, but to indicate that the *praenomen* of Orontes early on disappeared from use by that dynasty.

(Aparan), in the Kaza] valley, in Ayrarat, which they received from King Tiridates II (217-252), as is attested by a contemporary inscription. They are last heard of in the tenth century, apparently dispossessed, in the vassal service of the Bagratid kings.²³³

14. The Princes Gnuni were a branch of the same Orontid line as the Artsrunis [8] and claimed, like them, the descent from Sennacherib of Assyria. Their State comprised Aliovit, with the city of Archēsh, and Arberani, with the city of Berkri, on the northern shore of lake Van. They were enfeoffed, moreover, succeeding in this the House of Anzitene [§ 7] after 363, with the office of Seneschal (and perhaps also that of Great Butler) of Armenia. Mezezius I Gnuni was Iranian viceroy of Armenia in 518-548; Mezezius II was commander-in-chief of the Imperial armies in Armenia in 628-635; Mezezius III, *comes Obsequii*, was proclaimed Roman Emperor by the armies in Sicily, upon the murder of Constans II, in September 668, but was overthrown and killed at the beginning of 669. The house suffered the loss of its State to the Uthmanid and Qaysid emirs, after the insurrection of 771-772 (in which Vahan Gnuni, surnamed 'The Dagger,' lost his life), and this was the beginning of its decline. The Gnunis, then, removed to the Bagratid principedom in southern Tayk', and thence possibly to the Eastern Empire, since the Emperor Leo V (813-820) appears to have been a member of this house. Another branch settled in Vaspurakan where its members figure, in the mid-ninth century, among the vassals of their Artsrunid kinsmen. The House of Gnuni is last heard of c.914.²³⁴

²³³ For the origin, see Ps. Moses 1.19; also (for the office) 2.7; 2.24. For the rest, see the Greek inscription found at Aparan in 1908, recording the granting of Nig by Tiridates of Armenia to the son of Rodomithres Gnt'uni: Trever, *Oĕ. po ist. Arm.* 271-283, Plate 87. Trever assigns the inscription to Tiridates II, for whose dates, see Ananian, *Data e circostanze* 64. The text of this important inscription is as follows: *Τιριδάτης ὁ μέγας Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν ... Γεντιονίῃ Ροδομίθρου υἱῷ εἰς ἀρχαίαν... α πόλιν Νίγη ... ἐβραγίς ...* See also Faustus 4.11; Lazarus 39 (154), 42 (160), 69 (275); Eliseus 5 (129), 6 (150, 151, 156) (Tačat Gnt'uni died for the faith in 451); Sebēos 35 (226); John Kath. 179-180, 205-207, 295-297, 316-318; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 303, 490.

²³⁴ Faustus 3.12; 4.2, 11; Lazarus 23, 39, 47, 68, 69, 74; Eliseus 3 (90), 5 (129), 6 (156, 173), 8 (250); 505 and 555 Acts; Sebēos 29; Ps. Moses 1.23; 2.7, 19; 3.43; *Gk List* (*Κινουνής*) 405, cf. Garitte *La Narratio* 435-436; Leontius 34 (151); John Kath. 252-254; Thomas 2.6; 3.4; Asolk 2.2; 3.5; Vardan 77. Of this house, Vahan died for the faith in 451; Gurgēn and David were martyred in 917. See also Adontz, *Armenija* 304, 311, 445-446, 490; Grousset, *Histoire* 293, 333; Laurent, *Arménie* 97; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 210, 299 n. 2, 474; Oscean, *Gnuneac' ew Ršluneac' Nazarurul' iwnnerē* (Vienna 1952); and (for the Orontid origin) III/I. The canton of Berkri lay in Vaspurakan; that of Aliovit, in Turuberan. The Ottoman *kaza* of Arceş (Erciş) and that of Pergri, in the *sancak* of Van, must have corresponded to the Gnuni State; cf. Cuinet, *Turquie* II 709-713. The hereditary office-lief of this house was that of *hazarapet*: Faustus 4.2.; cf. *supra* n. 88. This was an office instituted (no doubt

15. The Princes K'ajberuni were dynasts of the territorialized remnant of the Kashka people in western Armenia; but in the Arab period they removed to Vaspurakan and acquired there, from the Muslims, the ancient Gnuni [14] principedom of Ajiovit, on the northern shore of lake Van, upon which they imposed their own name. They appear for the last time, among the Artsruni vassals, in the mid-ninth century.²³⁵

16. The Princes Kamsarakan, also called Arsharuni from one of their principedoms, claimed descent from the Kārin-Pahlav branch of the Iranian Arsacids and as such enjoyed the position of Princes of the Blood in Armenia. They held two principedoms in Ayrarat: Arsharunik' — with the old Orontid capital of Eruandashat, as their *ostan*, and the fortress of Bagaran — and Siracene, with the city of Ani. Nerses Kamsarakan was Prince of Armenia, in the Emperor's obedience, and Curopalate, in the years 689/690-691. The political weight of this house increased with the downfall of the Arsacid Monarchy when their State acquired a quasi-margravian significance on the contracting northern frontier of Armenia, but it was broken after the insurrec-

in the Parthian period) in imitation of the Iranian office of the same name: *hazārbað*. The name was derived from the Old Pers. *hazārpañtiš*, which in Achaemenian days denoted the office of Commander of the Great King's bodyguard or Chiliarch (for this is what the Iranian term literally means) of the Greeks: Ehtëcham, *Iran Achém.* 67, 69; Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 113. In Sassanian Iran *hazārbað* designated something quite different, however: the office of Prime Minister or Head of civil administration, also known as *vuzurg-framanðar*, the prototype of the Grand Vizier: Christensen 113-116 (in the last years of the Sassanid empire the name *hazārbað* denoted once again the head of the bodyguard: 395); Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 188. According to Theophylactus, 3.8, the competence of this office concerned τὰς πολιτικὰς φροντίδας. For its Armenian counterpart, see Adontz, *Armenija* 445-446, 468, 469. Because of the great independence of the Armenian nobility, princely as well as knightly, the chief concern of this office was with the *tiers-état* and particularly the peasantry. In biblical texts, *hazarapet* corresponds to ἐπίτροπος (e.g. Luke 8.3; 2 Mac. 11.1; however, the ἐπίτροπος of Matt. 20.8 is rendered by *gavarapet*). The first-century Iberian inscriptions from Armazi reveal the existence of the office of ἐπίτροπος in the Kingdom of Iberia, which in Georgian was called *ezo(y)s-moj'guar* ('Master of the Court'): cf. Ap'ak'ije, *Mexela* 70-71. — Ps. Moses ascribes to the House of Gnuni the hereditary Butlership of Armenia and — somewhat paronomastically, it would seem — derives its name from *gini-uni* (*gini* — 'wine'); but he does not know of their other office. Possibly the latter office included the functions of the former. (Adontz in one place [*Armenija* 468] would render *hazarapet* by 'Chancellor' and *sparapet* [High Constable] by 'Seneschal.'). For the territorial aspect of this dynasty, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 329; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. asr.* 169-170, 184-185. And for the Emperor Leo V: *supra* 8.

²³⁵ For the origin, see Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 135, 223, 251. Mentioned in Lazarus 39; Eliseus 5 (129) (Nerses K'ajberuni died for the faith in 451); Thomas 2.6. Although this house appears for the first time only in Lazarus, its immemorial dynastic origin is implied by its very name. For the territorial aspect, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 329; Adontz, *Armenija* 321 n. 5.

tion of 771-772, when the Kamsarakans were obliged to sell their double princely State to the Bagratids [9]. They may then have removed to the Empire, for the Patrician and Magister Arsaber (= Arshavir), anti-Emperor in 808, appears to have been of this house. After some two centuries of eclipse, the Kamsarakans regained prominence, as the House of the Pahlavids (Pahlavuni), whose State was centred in the Castle of Bjni, in the land of Nig, at the northwestern tip of lake Sevan. The Pahlavids played a great role in the last days of the Fourth Armenian Monarchy of the Bagratids and, after the abdication in 1045/6 of Gregory II Pahlavuni († 1058), *magister* and *dux* of Mesopotamia, in favour of the Emperor Constantine IX, a greater one in Armenia-in-Exile. There, after having momentarily been, in the person of the Curopalate Theodore († 1098), in control of Melitene and of Edessa, the Het'umid line of the Pahlavids held the Principality of Lambron and, in the person of Het'um († 1270), inherited in 1226 from the Rubenids the Crown of Armenia. The Het'umid Dynasty became extinct, in both its branches, of Armenia and of Lambron, in the fourteenth century, when the Crown of Armenia was inherited by the Lusignans of Cyprus. There also, the descendants of Gregory II's daughter bore the surname of Pahlavuni. Three Pahlavid branches appear to have survived to this day in Georgia.²³⁶

²³⁶ Faustus 3.11, 16, 21, 4.4, 19; Lazarus 34, 35, 36, 39, 42, 43, 45, 47, 57, 62, 63, 71, 74, 79, 80, 81, 86, 96; Eliseus 3 (98), 5 (129), 6 (151), 8 (250); Ps. Moses 2.27, 28, 42, 71-73, 90; 3.29, 31, 32, 38, 43, 48, 50, 65; Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 1.15; *Bell. goth.* 6.16, 18, 20, 26, 27, 29; 7.13, 18, 19, 24 (cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 292 n. 1); 505 and 555 Acts; Leontius 39 (161); *Gk List* (*Κατωγάριον*) 405, cf. Garitte, *La Narratio* 440; Asolik 2.2. In Ps. Moses, the Kamsarakan cousinship with the Kings of Armenia of the Arsacid line is stressed: cf. 2.72 (208), 2.90 (242). — Aršarunik', formerly Eraxsajor, the *Ἀραξηνὸν πεδῖον* of Strabo 11.14.4, 6, from which the family's second surname was derived (cf. *supra* n. 180), contained also the great castle of Artagerk' (Artageras: Strabo 11.14.6; cf. RE 2/1 1302); whereas Siracene or Širak (cf. RE 3 A/1 282-283 [No. 2]) had in it the city of Ani, which at a later period became the capital of the restored — Fourth — Armenian Monarchy of the Bagratids. See Adontz, *Armenija* 300-303; 'L'âge et l'origine de l'empereur Basile I^{er},' B 9 (1934) 239, 254; S. Kogean, 'Kamsarakannerë "teark" Širakay ew Aršaruneac', AM 110 (1926); Grousset, *Histoire* 289-290, 332-333; Laurent, *Arménie* 96-97; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363, 364; Garitte, *Documents* 233-234; Tournebize, 'Arscharouniq,' DHGE 4 745; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 128-133, 137-141. For the Het'umids and the Pahlavids, see Grousset 550 ff; Rüdts-Collenberg, *Rup. Heth. Lusignans* Tables II, III, IV, 47, 55-77, 78; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 517-530; RHC (9) I (1869) cxx; M. Leroy, 'Grégoire Magistros et les traductions arméniennes des auteurs grecs,' AIPhH 3 (1935) Table gén.; Hakobyan 155-157. It may appear strange that Vahram II Pahlavuni should, in his inscription of 1029 at the Marmašen Abbey, have qualified himself as 'of the race of the Pahlavids and of the family of St Gregory (*i ē'elē Pahlawuni, ew i zarmic' Srboyn Grigori*): K. J. Basmadjian, *Les inscriptions arméniennes d'Ani, de Bagnašr et de Marmachēn* (Paris 1931) No 212 (p. 193, cf. 195 and transl. 196). The Kamsarakans and the Gregorids (§ 13.11) claimed descent

17. The Princes Khorkhoṛuni, bearing the gentilitial title of Małkhaz and traditionally ascribed the descent from the divine House of Hayk, as well as the office of Commander of the King's Bodyguard, were dynasts of the territorialized remnant of the Hurrian nation — Khorkhoṛunik' or the Małkhaz-

from different Iranian houses: Kārin-Pahlav and Sūrēn-Pahlav (cf. Ps. Moses 2.27, 28). But, whatever may be said about the vague terminology indicating the kinship with St Gregory, which may be interpreted as either collateral or direct, the fact to note is that, in the female line, the Kamsarakans were indeed descended from St Gregory. The last male Gregorid, St Isaac († 439) married his daughter and heiress to the Mamikonid [18] prince, Hamazasp. Their son St Vardan II was the father of St Susan of Gogarene and of the wife of Aršawir, Prince Kamsarakan: cf. Peeters, *St. Soudanik* 257-268. The memento of Ošin IV of Lambron-Askuras, Marshal of Armenia and cousin of King Het'um I († 1294), in his Book of Gospels, qualifies him as 'of the race of the Pahlavids to which was united the family of the Arsacids (*c'eļēn Pahlawuni yor ew Aršakuneank'n xarnee'an zarmn*)': HA 1898 245. (For 'Arsacids' Rüd̄t-Collenberg, 55, has 'Ardzouni' and Macler, in REA 6 173, has 'Archarouni.') The formula is virtually the same as in the case of Vahram II (*supra*). — The Georgian Pahlavids are the Houses of P'alavandišvili, of Mxargrjeli (the Zachariads, as the Armenians called them), and of Sumbatišvili. The dynastic patronymic of the first house, when combined with their having migrated, in 1184, to Georgia from Ani (cf. Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga* III 481), which was the centre of the Armenian kingdom where the Pahlavids left so many constructions and inscriptions, leaves little doubt that their genealogical tradition concerned the latter. The fact that the Pahlavids are not expressly named by that tradition tends to show, I think, that the claim is a vague memory rather than an intentional fabrication. As for the Mxargrjeli, their mediaeval claim was to be descended from Artaxerxes Longimanus (*Hist. Eul. Sov.* 110), whence their surname (*mxargrjel* = *longimanus* = *μακροχειρ*). This claim is tantamount to a claim of an Arsacid origin, for the Arsacids traditionally regarded themselves as an offshoot of the Achaemenids (cf. Debevoise, *Parthia* 10). This is confirmed by the inscription, dated 1061, from the Mxargrjeli family abbey of Sinahin by 'Prince of Princes Šapuh, son of Gorbanīl, of the House of the Pahlavids and of the Arsacids': Arch. Jean de Griméc, *Description des monastères arméniens d'Haghpāt et de Sinahin* (St Petersburg 1863) 49. Šapuh is just a generation earlier than the first authenticated ancestor of the Mxargrejeli: cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 423, 425, 458-459. For the Kamsarakan origin of the Mxargrejeli, see also *Akty* 439. Variants of 'Pahlavid and Arsacid' appear thus to have been the formula to designate the later Kamsarakans, i.e., Pahlavids. The Sumbatids traced themselves back to King Het'um I's brother, Smbat, Constable of Armenia († 1275). For these three princely houses in the Russian Empire — including the two P'alavandid branches (Palavandov and Amirejibi [cf. Dolgorukov III 479]) and the three Mxargrejeli branches (Argutinskij-Dolgorukij [= *mxargrjel*], Pavlenov, and Magalov) — see *Spiski* 69-70, 7, 8-9, 54, 79-80. It is important to bear in mind, however, that, according to Vardan 138, the Mxargrejeli, or Zachariads, were of Kurdish origin and recent Christians. Cyriacus, 154, also refers to them as of Kurdish *Babirakan* origin; cf. for this Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London 1953) 101-103. — The Meliks of Surmalu (across the Araxes from Aršarunik', near Iğdır, now in Turkish Armenia) bearing the surname of Kamsarakan, the family of the Armenian Katholikos of Ejmiacin, Nersēs V (1843-1857), claimed descent from the ancient Kamsarakans: cf. A. Eric'eanc', 'Nersēs V i manakut'iwnē ew patanakut'iwnē,' P 1877 160-185. For the Meliks of later Armenia, see *infra* n. 250.

dom, as it was called after the family title — which was situated in the valley of the Arsianias, northwest of lake Van. This house disappeared from history in the Arab period.²³⁷

18. The Princes Mamikonian (the Mamikonids) claimed descent from the Emperors of China and bore the gentilitial title of Chenbakur, but appear to have been the immemorial dynasts of Tayk', on the Armeno-Georgian confines, possibly of Georgian origin; at any rate, the Mamikonid onomastics, and the dynastic patronymic in the first place, betray a Georgian connexion. The earliest historically ascertained member of this dynasty appears to have been Mancaeus who defended Tigranocerta against the Romans in 69 B.C. In the Armenian Monarchy, the Mamikonids were enfeoffed of the office of High Constable of Armenia (*sparapeṭ*), which carried with it the supreme command of all the armed forces of the realm, including in the first place the princely cavalry contingents, and this implied a pre-eminence among all their dynastic *confrères*. By the fourth century, this house had acquired a moiety of Taraun, in what was later the province of Turuberan, centred in the great castle of Ołakan on the Arsianias; and in 439, the marriage of Hamazasp I, Prince of the Mamikonids, with Sahakanoysh, daughter and heiress of St Isaac, the Gregorid [§ 13.II] chief prelate of Armenia, secured for the Mamikonids three Gregorid principalities: the other moiety of Taraun, centred in the city of Ashtishat, as well as Bagravandene and Acilisene. This made them the greatest territorial princes of the Monarchy, ruling a State that nearly sundered it into two halves. The eldest son of this marriage, St Vardan II led the insurrection of 450-451 and lost his life in it. Besides Manuel the Mamikonid, who ruled kingless Armenia in 377/8-385/6, seven Mamikonid princes held the Principate of Armenia between 485 and 750, one of them, Hamazasp II (655-658), invested by the Court of Constantinople with the dignity of Curopalate. Hamazasp II acquired in 655 the Principality of Bznunik' from the House of Rshtuni [23]. The following Byzantines may be considered Mamikonids: Artabasdos, *comes Obsequii*, Curopalate, and son-

²³⁷ Arm. Agath. 112/795, 126/873; Gk Agath. 136, 165; Gk Life of St Gregory 98 (cf. 172: *τῆς Μαλχαζᾶν*); Arab. Life of St Gregory 86 (*uspra* Lists A and B); Faustus 3.12; 4.11; 5.38, 43; Lazarus 25, 34, 35, 36, 39, 64, 65, 68, 69; Eliseus 2(55), 3(95), 4(118), 5(129), 6(151, 155); 505 and 555 Acts; Sebēos 6(76), 20(109-112), 22(118), 29(165), 32(185); Ps. Moses 1.12; 2.7; 3.9. Xoren Xorxoruni died for the faith in 451: Lazarus 39; Eliseus 6(155). See also Adontz, *Armenia* 313, 331-332, 400 (*malxaz* possibly goes back to the Assyrian *malik*), 415, 440, 490; Safrastian, *Hurri-lands* 259-267; Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 256; Akinean, *Eṭiṣē* 472-479, 489-790; Justi, *Namenbuch* 188-189; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 330, 435; Garitte, *Documents* 223, 239; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. aṣx.* 169-170. It is according to Ps. Moses, 2.7, that the Prince-Malxaz was enfeoffed of the command of the bodyguard of the Kings of Armenia, which was recruited from his own subjects.

in-law of the Emperor Leo III, who was Roman Emperor (conjointly with his elder son Nicephorus) from July 742 to 2 Nov. 743; the family of another Artabasdos, including his two grandchildren, the Empress Theodora († 867), wife of the Emperor Theophilus (829-842), and Caesar Bardas († 866); as well as the House of Musele-Crinites, to which belonged Theophilus's son-in-law Caesar Alexius Musele. After the insurrection of 771-772 (in which Samuel, Prince of the Mamikonids, perished) this traditionally Romanophile house lost most of its principedoms. In the course of the eighth century, most of Taraun and southern Tayk' were seized by the Bagratids [9]; northern Tayk' fell to the Iberian Guaramids [§ 25.2]; southern Arsharunik' with the Castle of Artagerk' (once belonging to the Kamsarakans [16]) and Bznunik' were taken by the Qaysid emirs; and, in 855/862, Bagravandene was violently wrested from the Mamikonids by the Bagratids. Acilisene must have been lost in the age of Justinian. But the Mamikonids succeeded in remaining sovereign, under vague Byzantine suzerainty, in the southwestern part of Taraun, round the fortress-city of Arsamosata, and in the neighbouring Arzanenian land of Sasun, i.e., in the middle valley of the Arsanias, until their dispossession by the Shāh-Armen in 1189/1190 and their migration to Armenia-in-Exile, in Cilicia. Two Georgian princely houses, still extant, deduce their descent from the Mamikonids. A branch of one of them, that of the Liparitids-Orbeliani, returned to Armenia in 1177 and subsequently formed the third dynasty of Siunia [25], reigning till the fifteenth century.²³⁸

²³⁸ The Mamikonids figure prominently in the pages of the Armenian historians, beginning with the documents of the Gregorian Cycle (*supra* Lists A and B), which give also the *praenomen* of the then reigning prince (Artawazd = Ἀρτάβα[σ]δος): Arm. Agath. 124/680; Gk Life of St Gregory 124; Arab. Life 112, 163. This dynasty plays, the most prominent part in the pages of Faustus, Lazarus, Eliseus, Ps. Zenobius, and Ps. John Mamikonean, but is outshone by the Bagratids in the pages of Sebēos and Leontius. Ps. Moses, who is inimical to them, does all in his power to minimize the position and historical role of the Mamikonids. They also figure in the 505 and 555 Acts, Thomas, Moses Kal., Matt. Edess., Vardan, Cyriacus, Stephen Orbelian. See also III/II § 12; Adontz, *Armenija* 124-126, 282-283, 299, 308-311, 402-403, 405, 447; *Taronites* (II) 545-551 (Markwart in *Südarmerien* 517-530 is to be corrected accordingly); *Age of or. de Basile I^{er}* 242-243, 259; Markwart, *Südarmerien* 67*-79*, 290-296; Grousset, *Histoire* 290-291, 331 n. 2, 373-374, 607-608, 632 n. 3, 641, and *passim* (erroneously, on p. 290, the hereditary High Constableness is attributed also to the Kamsarakans); Akinean, *Ejilē* 427-448, 784-786; H. Scöld, 'L'origine des Mamiconiens,' REA 5/1 (1925) 131-136; Mlaker, 'Die Herkunft der Mamikonier und der Titel Čenbakur,' WZKM 39 (1932) 133-145; Justi, *Namenbuch* 424-425; Manandyan, *P'eodal. Hay.* 73; Laurent, *Arménie* 90-94 and *passim*; Muyldermans, 'Le dernier prince Mamikonien de Bagrévand,' HA 40 (1926); Garitte, *Documents* 223, 235-236; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 276-278, 286, 315-316, 325-327, 351-361, 363; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ošx.* 220-221, 239-241, 255-257; V § 8-9; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 147-151, 198-204, Maps I, IV; Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 184; Weissbach in RE 4 A/2 2329-2330. The imperial Chinese origin of the Mamikonids is asserted

note 238 continued

by Faustus, 5.4, 37, Sebēos, 2, and by Ps. Moses, 2.81, the latter two indicating that the title borne by their imperial ancestors was *žen-bakur*. The first element of that title is the ethnicon 'Chinese,' the second, a rendering of the Iranian *bagpūr*, itself a translation of the Chinese imperial title of *t'ien-tzu* ('Son of Heaven'): Markwart, *Streifzüge* 133-134; *Südarmenien* 77*-78* (he thought, however, that it was the King of the Kushans, who also entitled himself 'Son of Heaven' [*devaputra*], and not the Emperor of China who was meant here); Justi, *Namenbuch* 240. Actually, the Georgian origin of the Mamikonids seems more likely. In the first place, they were dynasts of the proto-Caucasian and half-Georgian Tayk'; in the second, there are philological data to support it. The basic element of their *nomen gentilitium* and most likely their gentilitial title, *mamik* or *mamak*, is a composite of the Armenian diminutive suffix *-ik/-ak* and of the Georgian word *mama* or 'father': Adontz, *Armenija* 402-403, 405. Also, the *praenomen* Mušel, found among them, is a Georgian territorial epithet, formed with the addition of the Georgian suffix *-el* (Armenianized as *-el*) to the name of the chief city of Tarawn, Muš: Adontz, *op. cit.* 398; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 157 n. 1. Adontz explained the Chinese tradition by a confusion, prompted by the love of exotic origins, between the ethnicon *žen* and that of the Georgian Čan-ians (Tzanni) or Lazi (for whom, see I at n. 55; Gugushvili, *Divisjon* 56, 64), who were settled in the neighbourhood of Tayk'. The great office-hief of the Mamikonids, that of High Constable of Armenia, was called in Armenian *sparapet* or *asparapet*. This term, like the Georgian *spaspet* (I at n. 144), was derived from the Old Pers. **spāddāpaitiš*; the office itself was the equivalent of the Sassanian offices of *Ērān-spāhbaδ* and (if it existed as a separate office) of *aspabād*, as well as of the High Constable of Iberia; cf. III/II § 14. Unlike *spaspet*, it had no civil functions, which were entrusted to the *hazarapet* (cf. *supra* n. 234). The Gk Life of St Gregory 98 and its Arabic parallel 86 (in Garitte's translation, *Documents* 72) give a succinct account of the powers of this office: *ὁ τῶν Μαμακωνιανῶν ἡγεμὼν, ἀσπαρπέτης, πάντας τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱππότητας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἔχων ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν στρατηγίαν, συνὼν τε αἰεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν πάντας τοὺς τε προηγουμένους καὶ ὑποταττομένους <...> ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν στρατηγίαν* = 'princeps mqwny'wnw nomine 'sb'r'b'ts: hic autem praefectus erat exercitus totius Armeniae, equitum et peditum, nec discedebat a rege magnae Armeniae, atque in bellis omnes quos memoravimus principes, et memorabimus, sub eius potestate erant, praeterquam quod princeps qmrdl [Corduene; Garitte, *Documents* 219-220] non erat sub eius potestate, quae (regio) est iuxta fortes qrdy'u.' (For this exceptional position of the Prince of Corduene, see also *supra* at n. 141). Elsewhere in the Gk Life, 172, the *sparapet* is called *τοῦ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀσπαρπέτου*. The Gk Agath. 136, 160, has for it: *στρατοπεδάρχης στρατιωτικῆς ἐξουσίας* and *στρατοπεδάρχης πάσης τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας*. In the biblical translations, it is made to correspond to the *ἀρχιστράτηγος* of Gen. 21.22, 23 (= the Georg. [eris-jm'avar]). — The two Mamikonid princely houses of Georgia and the Russian Empire are the Liparitids and the Tumanids. The former appeared in Iberia c. 376; was invested with the office of High Constable of Georgia; returned, in the main branch, to Armenia in 1177, or possibly even earlier; and reigned as the Third Dynasty of Siunia [25] from c. 1200 to the mid-fifteenth century. It was subdivided, in the remaining Georgian branch, into the following houses: Jambakur(ian) [= *ženbakur*]-Orbeliani, Bara-t'asvili, Solagašvili, Kaxaberije-Č'i'avaje, and possibly Abašije. See: Stephen Orbelian cap. 66; and Brosset, *Histoire de la Siouanie par Stéphanos Orbelian* (St. Petersburg 1864, 1866); *Additions* 213-215, 257-264, 317-329, 334-339, 346-361; J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires*

19. The Princes Mandakuni, reigning in the canton of Arshamunik*, in Turuberan, appear to have been the dynasts of a remnant of the Mannaeen or Manda enclave in western Armenia. The Manda and the Sala peoples are mentioned as neighbours in the Hittite records, and so are, in the Armenian sources, the Houses of Mandakuni and of Sĭkuni [26]. John Mandakuni was the Katholikos of the Armenian Church at the end of the fifth century; thereafter, this house disappeared from history.²³⁹

20. The Princes of Moxoene (see § 9).

21. The Princes Paluni reigned in the canton of the same name, which was a territorialized remnant of the Pala or Bala people of the Hittite records, situated between Asthianene and Taraun; another such remnant being the neighbouring principedom of Balabitene [§ 7]. With Palunik's becoming, as it seems, a part of the Mamikonid [18] Principality of Taraun, this house migrated to Vaspurakan, where it imposed its name on its State in that province. It is last heard of in 505/506.²⁴⁰

historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie II (Paris 1819) 'Dissertation sur la famille des Orbélians'; Justi, *Namenbuch* 445-446; G. Hovsēp'yan, *Tarsayič Orbellani ew Mina Xal'uni serundē* (Antelias 1947); L. Ališan, *Sisakan* (Venice 1893); Minorsky, 'Caucasica II,' BSOAS 1951 13/4; Toumanoff, *Fifteenth-Cent. Bagr.* 176, 178-180; *Spiski* 36-37, 67-68, 12-14, 79, 98, 1-2; Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga* III 475-476, 467-468. The other house, the Tumanids, removed to Georgia from Armenia-in-Exile (Cicilia) after the twelfth century: *Fifteenth-Cent. Bagr.* 179 n. 59; *Spiski* 83-85; Dolgorukov III 483; GHA(I) 2 (1953) 471; cf. Zacharias the Deacon, *Sofis* 48.

²³⁹ Lazarus 47, 97, 99, 100; Elisens 5 (129) (P'arsman Mandakuni took part in the insurrection of 450-451), 8 (251); Ps. Moses 2.8; 2.76, 77, 78. In his first reference Ps. Moses ascribes a non-dynastic origin to this house, which is based on a play on words that has no worth whatsoever. It is significant, however, in view of what has been said above, that he mentions the Mandakunis in the same breath as the Sĭkunis. In his second reference, he claims that Artawazd Mandakuni and his house were exterminated in the third century by the Great King Ardašir. This house, obviously, did not long survive the events of 451, so that to Ps. Moses it appeared as long extinct. For the position of princes of the Manda people, see Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 136-140; Adontz, *Armenija* 311, 419; also Tournebize, s.v. 'Arschamouniq,' DHGE 4 744; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 327; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 163-166. For the Katholikos John Mandakuni, cf. Garitte, *La Narratio* 426: *ô Mavraxov-vrĭs* in the *Gk List* 404.

²⁴⁰ Lazarus 23 (92), 36 (142), 39 (154); Elisens 3 (95), 4 (119), 6 (155) (Artak Paluni died for the faith in 451); 505 Acts. This house must have disappeared soon after the sixth century, for Ps. Moses does not know it. Also: Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 127-136; Adontz, *Armenija* 311; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 345. Lap'anc'yan 129 cannot be right in thinking that there existed the principedom of Paĭanakan-tun (cf. Lazarus 10 [31]; John of Paĭanakan-tun [Yohan 'i Paĭanakan tanēn], one of the scholars of Maštoc'-Mesrop's *entourage*): it was merely a toponym. The Ottoman *kaza* of Palu (3,376 sq. km.), in the *sancak* of Argane must have corresponded roughly to the ancient principality; cf. Cuinet, *Turquie* II (1898) 489-491.

22. The Princes Rop'sian were traditionally a cadet branch of the royal house, being descended from a King of Armenia's subsequent marriage with a Roman lady named Rufa. From the circumstances of the story reported in Pseudo-Moses it is possible to establish that the King in question was Sohaemus (164-after 175), who appears to have been of the house of the Priest-Kings of Emesa, though possibly also related to the Arsacids. They are last heard of in the insurrection of 450-451.²⁴¹

23. The Princes Rshtuni were sovereign over the homonymous canton on the southern shore of lake Van, with the capital city of Vostan, the island fortress of Alt'amar, and Tosb, once the Vannic capital of Tushpa, as well as over the principedom of the extinct Bznunis [§ 13.6] across the lake. Traditionally ascribed the divine Haykid origin, the Rshtunis, whose dynastic patronymic is connected with the Vannic royal name of Rusha (Rusa) and whose State occupied the nucleus of the old Urartian Monarchy, appear to have been of royal Urartian origin. Theodore Rshtuni was Ruling High Constable of Armenia, with the Roman title of Patrician, in 638-c.645, and then, having concluded in 653/4 the treaty of protectorate with the Caliphate, Presiding Prince of Armenia, in the Caliph's obedience, till his downfall in 655. Thereafter began the decline of this house. Bznunik' was lost to the Mamikonids [18] immediately; later, Rshtunik' passed to the Artsrunis [8]; and the dynasty itself became extinct during the Arab period.²⁴²

²⁴¹ Ps. Moses 2.64. The King is called by him Tigranes, which is erroneous; but he gives, in this connexion, an important synchronism when he tells us that the King was restored by Lucius Verus. The whole story may be built upon another of Ps. Moses's facile, and incorrect, plays on words (Rufa = Rop'sean). But, if there be any truth in it, it must be clear that the King in question was Sohaemus, who was placed on the throne of Armenia by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and as a result of the latter's campaign in the East, in 164, and who was c. 175 restored on that throne by Martius Verus: cf. Magie, *Roman Rule* 661, 665; Debevoise, *Parthia* 246-249, 252-254; Asdourian, *Arm. u. Rom* 111-116 (different dates). Ps. Moses, or his source, obviously confused the two Veri. Sohaemus, to judge by his name, appears to have belonged to the dynasty of Emesa, though there are indications of his being related to the Arsacids. For Ps. Moses, to be sure (I at n. 174) the King and his children by Rufa are Arsacids; he also mentions their cadet branches settled in Gordyene. The Rop'seans are mentioned in the insurrection of 450-451 by Lazarus 47; Eliseus 8 (251).

²⁴² Arm. Agath. 112/795; 126/873; Gk Agath. 136, 165; Gk Life of St Gregory 98; Arab. Life of St Gregory 86 (Lists A and B); Faustus 3.7, 10, 16, 18; 4.4, 11, 59; Lazarus 25; Eliseus 2 (55), 8 (251); 505 Acts; Sebēos 28 (156), 29 (161, 167), 30 (176), 32 (184-188), 33 (194), 35 (226-227); *Gk List* (Ὁροστροφής) 405, cf. Garitte, *La Narratio* 437-438. See also, Adontz, *Armenija* 315, 321; Grousset, *Histoire* 292, 296-304; Laurent, *Arménie* 89-90; Oskean, *Gnun. ew Rštun. Naxar.*; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 339-340, 476; Garitte, *Documents* 231-232; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 178-184. According to Ps. Moses, 2.8, this house belonged together with those of Colthene [10] and Siunia [25] to the same line of the Haykid Dynasty.

24. The Princes Saharuni held sovereign rights over the land of that name in Ayrarat, on the border of Siracene, which was centred in the city of Mren. David Saharuni was Presiding Prince of Armenia in 635-683 and was decorated by the Imperial Court with the dignity of Curopalate. Nothing is known of this house after him.²⁴³

25. The Princes of Siunia or, subsequently also, Sisakan (the Princes Siuni) were the immemorial dynasts of that half-Albanian province of Great Armenia and, consequently, regarded as of the House of Hayk. Valinak of Siunia momentarily acquired, in the fourth century, the Vitaxate of Arzanene [§ 9]. Vasak I was the Iranian viceroy of Armenia, c. 442-451; and Philip was Presiding Prince, 574-576. In 572, Siunia briefly seceded, with the connivance of the Court of Ctesiphon, from the rest of Armenia. In 963, Smbat II assumed the title of King of Siunia. In the course of the ninth century, the dynasty became divided into two lines: of Vayots'-dzor and of Gelark'uni; in the following century, the elder line became extinct into the younger; and, in the eleventh, the entire Siunian succession passed through adoption to the House of Gardman-Albania [§ 13.9], itself a Siunid branch. From about 1200 to the mid-fifteenth century, Siunia was ruled by its third dynasty, a branch of the Mamikonids [18], that of the Liparitids or Orbeliani, which had previously long been established in Iberia.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Faustus 3.12 (the historian belonged to this house); 3.14; 4.11; 5.35; Lazarus 68, 78 (K'aia) Saharuni died for the faith in 451); Eliseus 5 (129: Karēn Saharuni took part in the insurrection); Sebēos 29 (166); *Gk List* (Σαγάρης) 405, cf. Garitte, *La Narratio* 436-437; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 306. The early disappearance of this house must explain why Ps. Moses does not seem to know it.

²⁴⁴ Arm. Agath. 112/795, 126/873; *Gk Agath.* 136, 165; *Gk Life of St Gregory* 98; Arab. *Life of St Gregory* 86 (*supra* Lists A and B); Faustus 3.9, 11, 16, 21; 4.4, 15, 58; 5.42, 43; Lazarus *passim*; Eliseus 2 (54), 3 (82), 5 (128), 7 (176, 178), 8 (250); 505 Acts; Sebēos 1 (40), 6 (76, 78), 11 (90), 13 (92), 30 (173), 35 (227, 228, 233), 38 (243); Ps. Zenobius 26, 27, 29, 35, 43-44, 46, 48; Ps. Moses 1.2; 2.63; 3.18, 22, 26, 28, 41, 43, 46, 54; also in John Kath.; Moses Ka.; Vardan; and, especially, Stephen Orbelian. See Adontz, *Armenija* 220-221, 274-276, 299, 421-423, 490; Grousset, *Histoire* 291, 641, and *passim*; Laurent, *Arménie*, *passim*; Justi, *Namenbuch* 426-427; Allān, *Sisakan*; Brosset, *Hist. de la Siounie*; Markwart *Erānšahr* 120-122; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 263-266, 347-349; Garitte, *Documents* 235; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 187-197. — The name of the province of Siwnik' may go as far back as the Uartian *Siuni* (Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 225 n. 3), which was the name of the sun god: Melik'isvili, *Uart. nadpisi* 442. It is called Σαυρία by Eusebius (*Præp. evang.* 6.10 (472); cf. Adontz 421 n. 4; Markwart, *Südararmenien* 77 n. 1) and Σαυρίτις by Strabo (11. 14.5, where it is given in the corrupt form: Φαυρίτις; cf. Adontz, *loc. cit.*; Markwart, *op. cit.* 78 n. 1 [abandons his earlier identification of Φαυρίτις with the canton of Apahunik', but does not quite accept its identification with Siwnik']; Hübschmann 210, 239); its people are called Σαυρίται by Procopius (*Bell. pers.* 15.1). Its other name, Sisakan, is of Iranian origin and first appears in a Syriac source of the sixth century; no Armenian writer prior to Ps. Moses uses this word to designate Siwnik': III/II § 17. The Imperial Chancellery gave

26. The Princes Sĭkuni or Sĭkuni were the dynasts of the territorialized remnant of the Sala people of the Hittite records, in Turuberan, and close neighbours of the Manadakunis [19]. They last appear in history in the insurrection of 450-451.²⁴⁵

27. The Princes Vahevuni or Vah(n)uni were traditionally descended from the Haykid Vahagn, the Heracles of Armenian paganism, and reigned as High Priests of pre-Christian Armenia in the part of Taraun which was centred in the holy city of Ashtishat, with its celebrated temple of Vahagn. Their connexion with the Orontid temple of the Sun and of the Moon at Armavira and their origin in common with the Aravenians [7] and the Zarehavanids [§ 13.23], remembered in the historical tradition, must indicate their Orontid origin. At the conversion of Armenia, the temple-state of Ashtishat passed to the patriarchal dynasty of the Gregorids [§ 13.11], and the Vahevunis appear as ruling a State in Ayrarat, until their migration, in the Arab period, to Vaspurakan. In the mid-ninth century, they figure among the vassals of the Artsrunis and are last heard of in 906.²⁴⁶

28. The Princes of Vanand held as their principality this canton in Ayrarat, between the Akhurian river and the upper Cyrus, on the Iberian confines. They last appear in history in the seventh century.²⁴⁷

to the two heads of the divided dynasty of Siunia in the tenth century the titles of ἀρχων τοῦ Σπυρῆς and ἀρχων τοῦ Βασιζώρ: Const. Porphy., *De cerim.* 2.48. — It is regrettable that the singular error of S. Runciman in referring to the tenth-century Princes of Siunia as Orbelians (*The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* [Cambridge 1929] 153, 160ff., 'The Geneal. Trees' 262/263), to which I have drawn attention in *Fifteenth-Cent. Bagr.* 180 n. 63, should have been repeated by him in Jenkins, *Const. Porphy. De Adm. Imp.* II 158.

²⁴⁵ Eliseus 5 (129: Ayruk Sĭkuni took part in the insurrection of 450-451); Ps. Moses 2.8, 77, 84 (supposed Mamikonid acquisition of the Sĭkuni State under Tiridates the Great); 3.20; Ps. Moses, 2.8, professes his uncertainty about the Haykid origin of this house; yet their dynastic principality of the Sala remnant appears indubitable: Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 136-140; *supra* at n. 239.

²⁴⁶ See III /I §16 (6) and, for the cult of Vahagn at Aštišat, cf. Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm.* lit. I 31-35; Carrière, *Huit sanctuaires* 17, 19; Dumézil, *Vahagn*; Karst, *Mythologie* 3-6. Also Lazarus 23, 24, 36; Eliseus 2 (55), 3 (95), 4 (119), 5 (129); 505 and 555 Acts; Sebēos 6 (76), 7 (79), 11 (90), 13 (92), 30 (175), 34 (227); Ps. Moses 1.31; 2.8, 12, 14, 86, 88; Thomas 2.6; 3.2 (Abu-Isaac Vahewuni martyr in 852), 4, 24, 32; Thom. Contin. 4.3; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 310. — Carrière, 22-23, would consider the Vah(n)unis as a figment of Ps. Moses's imagination on the ground that Agathangelus does not mention them; but then Agathangelus does not mention most princely houses. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363, would consider Vahewunik' a mere variant of Hawenunik', a canton in Ayrarat; yet the Acts of the Council of Dvin of 555 mention both a Prince Vahewuni and a Prince Hawenuni [§ 14.7).

²⁴⁷ Faustus 3.12, 14; Lazarus 23, 39, 42, 71, 83, 94; Eliseus 6 (151) (several members of this house took part in the insurrection of 450-451); 505 and 555 Acts; Sebēos 35 (226); also Adontz, *Armenija* 299, 300; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363-364; Garitte, *Documents* 229; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 135-137.

13. The houses which existed in Great Armenia during the Arsacid period, but not thereafter, include all those already examined in connexion with the Vitaxae and the Vitaxae themselves. These and the others belonging to the same category are now listed alphabetically.

1. The Vitaxae of Adiabene (see § 6 and 12.8).

2. The Vitaxae of Arzanene (see § 9).

3. The Princes of Asthianene (see § 7).

4. The Princes Bagian are mentioned but once as represented by Prince Kishkēn who took part in the embassy sent by King Arsaces II to the Roman Emperor, c. 361.²⁴⁸

5. The Princes of Balabitenē (see § 7).

6. The Prince Bznuni were the dynasts of the homonymous land on the north shore of lake Van to whom the historical tradition ascribes the Haykid origin in common with the Houses of Apahunī [§ 12.5], Manavazian [16], and Orduni [18], which in this case signifies Urartian — probably royal — origin. This dynasty became extinct with the execution of the last Prince, Dat'abē, under King Chosroes III of Armenia, for passing to the side of the Great King in the Roman-Iranian war of 337-363.²⁴⁹

7. The Princes of Corduene (see § 9).

8. The Princes of Dzorap'or (see § 11).

9. The Princes of Gardman reigned in the upper valley of the Shamkhor river, between lake Sevan and the Cyrus, in the province of Otene, and were traditionally ascribed a Haykid origin and, consequently, immemorial dynasts. In 363, the Prince of Gardman left the obedience of the King of Armenia passing into the Albanian political sphere. Soon thereafter the First Dynasty of Gardman was replaced by the Second, that of the Mihranids. This dynasty came to play a dominant role in kingless Albania, and in 628 Varaz-Gregory of Gardman was appointed by the Emperor Heraclius to be Presiding Prince of Albania, which office remained in his house. With the assassination in 822 of Varaz-Tiridates II, the Second Dynasty of Gardman-Albania came to extinction; and the Principality of Gardman and claims to the Principate of Albania went with the hand of the last Mihranid princess Spram, daughter of Varaz-Tiridates, to Atrnerseh, Prince of Khach'ēn, in Arts'akh, son of Isaac or Sahl, of the House of Siunia [§ 12.25]. The Third Dynasty of Gardman-Albania, thus founded, succeeded, through adoption, in the eleventh century, to the royal house of Siunia, but used the title of

²⁴⁸ Faustus 4.11 (*Kiskēn, nahapetn Bagēnic'*). The name seems derived from *bag(a)*, which may suggest an Orontid origin; III/II § 11.

²⁴⁹ Ps. Moses 1.2; 2.8; also 2.62; 3.2; Faustus 3.8; cf. Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 256; Hübschmann, 328-329; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 167-168.

Kings of Albania (or of P'arisos) and became extinct c. 1166. Its inheritance then devolved to its younger branch of the Princes of Khach'ën, which had been formed by the tenth century and survived as Meliks (dynasts) of Khach'ën, bearing the surname of Hasan-Jalalian, down to the Russian annexation of Armenian territories in the nineteenth century.²⁵⁰

10. The Vitaxae of Gogarene (see § 10-11).

²⁵⁰ Atrnerseh, the husband of Spram and founder of the Third Dynasty, is called 'son of Sahl' by Moses Kal. 3.22 (Dowsett 226), who adds that he was 'lord of Siunia' (i.e., of the House of Siunia), and he had possessed himself of the 'canton of Gejam' (= Gejam'uni). Markwart identified him with 'Aḡarnarsē ibn Ishāq al-Ḥāshīnī (= of Xač'ën) of Tabarī: *Streifzüge* 457, and so considered him a son of Sahak (Isaac), son of Vasak of Siunia. His belonging to the House of Siunia seems, at any rate, certain. For the first two dynasties of Gardman, see V § 17-18 and *supra* at nn. 180-185. The sources for the third, and its two lines, of Gardman-Albania and of Xač'ën-Arc'ax, include Moses Kal., John Kath., Cyriacus, Vardan, Matt. Edess., Stephen Orbellian, and considerable epigraphical data; see also Brosset, *Hist. de la Siounie*; Justi, *Namenbuch* 427, 459; I. Orbell, 'Hasan Jalal, knajz' Xaçenski,' *ILAN* 1909; Hovsēp'yan, *Xalbakyan' kam P'rošyank'* (Vaḡaršapat 1928); Minorsky, 'Caucasica IV,' *BSOAS* 1953 15/3 509 n. 2, 522-523, 526; Grousset, *Histoire* 351, 364, 365, 368, 437, 450-451, 454, 455, 647; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 349. In the tenth century, the head of the line of Xač'ën was entitled by the Court of Constantinople ἄρχων τοῦ Χαρζιάνης: Const. Porphy., *De cerim.* 2.48. The dynasty of Xač'ën became subdivided into a number of branches in the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century: Brosset, *Hist. de la Siounie* (geneal. tables) I 179-180. But its State diminished in size. From the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, Qarabağ, which corresponded roughly to the Armenian province of Arc'ax, was ruled by Muslim khans and five dynasties of Armenian *melik'ner*: the Beglareans of Giwlistan, the Israēleans of Jرابerd, the Hasan-Jalaleans of Xač'ën, the Šahnazareans of Vaḡanda, and the Awaneans of Tizak. Of these, the House of Xač'ën was alone held to have been indigenous, and so, unquestionably, a continuation of the earlier Princes of that land, among whom the names of Jalal and of Hasan were favoured; on the other hand, the Israēleans of Jرابerd claimed descent from the P'rošid-Xalbakid branch of the same Princes of Xač'ën. Cf. J. Emin, *The Life and Adventures* (Calcutta 1918), Note IV ('On the Five Meliks of Karabagh, translated and adapted from Raffi's "Five Meliks" [Vienna, 1906]') 333-359; G. Ėzov, *Snošenija Petra Velikago s Armjanami. Dokumenty* (St Petersburg 1898) 2-6 [Letter of the Meliks to the Pope, 19 April 1699]. In 1799, the five Meliks accepted the suzerainty of the Russian Empire, while their sovereign status was recognized by the charter of the Emperor Paul I of 2 June 1799: *Akty* I (1866) 635-636. Other houses of Meliks were: the Aḡamaleans of Erevan, ethnarchs of the Armenians of that city, next to the Khans of Erevan (*Akty* I 119; II [1867] 604, 628, 822-823; VIII 222); the Bebut'eans, or Bebut'ašvilis, ethnarchs of the Armenians of Tiflis (with the title of *melik'-mamasaxlisi*) and Grand Masters of the Hunt of Georgia, from 1621 and 1714 (*Akty* II 475); and the Meliks of Somxit'i, of whom the Awaneans were a branch and who were Dukes of Somxit'i in Georgia; they and the Bebut'ids were, thus, received into the princely nobility of Georgia and, subsequently, of the Russian Empire: *infra* Appendix C. The Russian annexation of Georgia in 1801 was followed by the dispossession of the Meliks. Cf. Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 257-263. For the Meliks of Sumralu, see *supra* n. 236.

11. The Gregorids were traditionally ascribed the descent from the Iranian house of Sūrēn-Pahlav, and through it from the Iranian Arsacids, and were the family of the Apostle of Armenia, St Gregory the Illuminator, and of his descendants, holding quasi-hereditarily the position of chief prelates of the Church in Armenia. Upon the Christianization of Armenia at the turn of the fourth century the Gregorids acquired the temple-state of Vahagn at Ashtishat, in Taraun, from the House of Vahevuni [§ 12.27], the temple-state of Anaitis at Erez, in Acilisene, the Principality of Bagravandene, and various other lesser domains, which thenceforth composed the patriarchal princely State. This State passed through marriage to the Mamikonids [§12.78], upon the extinction of the Gregorids with the death of St Isaac, Bishop of Armenia, in 439.²⁵¹

12. The Princes Habuzhian make their sole appearance in history with Vrkēn who, together with the only-known Prince Bagian [4] and other princes, was sent by Arsaces II on an embassy to the Emperor c. 361.²⁵²

13. The Princes of Ingilene and Anzitene (see § 7).

14. The Princes of Kolbap'or (see § 11).

15. The Princes of Mahkert (see § 6).

16. The Princes Manavazian reigned in the territory of the fortress-city of Mana(va)zkert in the upper valley of the Arsanias, north of the State of the House of Bznuni [6] and west of that of the House of Apahuni [12.5], together with which two houses they traditionally formed one — and celebrated — line of the divine House of Hayk; they were, accordingly, of Urartian, probably royal, origin. The Manavazians perished in the mid-fourth century in the course of a bitter struggle with the related House of Orduni [18].²⁵³

17. The Princes of Mardpetakan (see § 7).

18. The Princes Orduni or Uorduni were sovereign at Uordoru in Phasiane, in the upper valley of the Araxes, in Ayrarat. They were traditionally ascribed the Haykid origin in common with the Bznunis [6] and the other Urartian dynasties. In the mid-fourth century, their family feud with their kinsmen,

²⁵¹ Faustus *passim*; Lazarus esp. 14 (origin) and 18 (extinction and Mamikonid succession); Ps. Moses 2.27, 28, 68, 91 (origin); 3.51 (extinction and Mamikonid succession). See also Adontz, *Armenija* 124-125, 310-311; (for the principedoms) Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 286, 325-327, 363; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 133-134, 220-221; (for the two temple-states) Carrière, *Huit sanctuaires* 16-17, cf. 19.

²⁵² Faustus 4.11 (*Vrkēn nahapetn Habuženic'*).

²⁵³ Ps. Moses 1.2; 2.8 (origin); 3.2 (extinction); Faustus 3.4; cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 449-450; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 78; Plotrovskij, *Vansk. carstvo* 31, 63; the name of the city of Manazkert (so often found in textbooks in the corrupt form 'Mantzikert') is derived from that of the Urartian king Menua (Manawazkert).

the Manavazians [16] resulted in the extinction of both houses. Manag of Phasiane, who took part in the royal campaign against the Vitaxa of Arzanene sometime between 330 and 339, must have belonged to this house.²⁵⁴

19. The Princes of Otene were the dynasts of the greater part of the province of that name, on the Albanian frontier of Great Armenia and were traditionally descended from Hayk and, accordingly, immemorially dynastic. In 363, the Prince of Otene severed his feudal ties with the King of Great Armenia and passed to the sphere of Albania, where his dynasty remained until A.D. 922, when the last Prince, Moses of Otene, was blinded by Ashot II, Bagratid King of Armenia, and Otene was annexed.²⁵⁵

20. The Princes of Greater Sophene (see § 7).

21. The Princes of Lesser Sophene (see § 7).

22. The Princes of Zabdicene (see § 9).

23. The Princes of Zarevand (-Zarehavan) and Her (the Zarehavanids) belonged to the same Orontid, traditionally Haykid, line as the Princes Aṛavenean [§ 12.7] and Vahevuni [§ 12.27], though they may also have been a subdivision of the Artsrunis [§ 12.8]. The three cantons they ruled, the last-named with the Castle of Ampriotik, were situated on the northwest shore of lake Urmia, next to the Artsrunid principedom of Greater Albak. The last mention of this house concerns Surik, Prince of the Valley of Her, who was among the princes sent on a mission to the Roman Emperor by Arsaces II of Armenia c. 361.²⁵⁶

14. To the third and last category belong those houses which existed only in post-Arsacid (and subsequent) times. The appearance in a dynasticist society with its closed princely caste of new princely houses can generally mean only the formation under different names of new offshoots from the

²⁵⁴ Ps. Moses 1.2; 2.8 (origin); 3.2 (extinction); Faustus 3.4. The latter (3.4) and Ps. Moses (2.8) state that the principedom of Orduni was in the valley of Phasiane (Basean, Basēn), for which, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 262-263; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 127-128, and which correspond to the Ottoman *kaza* of Pasin in the *sancak* of Erzerum; cf. Cuinet, *Turquie* I 207-209 and map at p. 130.

²⁵⁵ Arm. Agath. 112/795; Gk Agath. 136; Arab. Life of St Gregory 86 (*supra* List A); Ps. Moses 2.8; Faustus 5.13; John Kath. 301-304. Otene = Arm. Uti, for which see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 270-275, 352-353; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 249-250; E. Polaschek, 'Uti,' RE 9 A/2 1178-1179. This toponym may have been derived from the Urartian Etiḫi: V. Bănăţeanu, 'Beiträge zum Studium der urartischen Ortsnamen in der armenischen Toponymie,' HA 75/10-12 (1961) 1054-1055.

²⁵⁶ Arm. Agath. 112/795; Gk Agath. 136; Gk Life of St Gregory 98; Arab. Life of St Gregory 86 (*supra* List A); Faustus 4.11 (*Surik nahapeln Hrsijoroy*); cf. III/I § 16 (7); Garitte, *Documents* 213-214, 238; Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 109-110, 117: *Südarmanien* 205 n. 1 (205-207), 555-556; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 260-261, 338; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 245-246.

old stocks. In some cases the origin of the houses belonging to this category is discernable, in others it is not. The following is a list of them.

1. The Princes Abelian reigning in the homonymous canton in Ayrarat, situated on the left bank of the middle Araxes, and traditionally invested with the office of Master of the Granaries of Great Armenia, appear to have been an offshoot of the Kamsarakan Dynasty [§ 12.16]. They are last mentioned in 555.²⁵⁷

2. The Princes of Ashots' (see § 11).

3. The Princes Dashtakaran were sovereign in Sacasene, in the province of Otene, and are last heard of in the seventh century.²⁵⁸

4. The Princes Dziunakan, ruling a State in Ayrarat and invested according to tradition with the office of Master of the Summer Palaces of Great Armenia, are presumable Kamsarakan [§ 12.16] cadets and are last mentioned in 555.²⁵⁹

5. The Princes Ėntsayats'i reigned in Ėntsayats'- or Andzahi-dzor, with the Castle of Kotor, in Vaspurakan, which appears to have been an appanage of the Mardpets [§ 7], and so they may have been a cadet branch of the House of Mardpetakan. They are first and last heard of in the insurrection of 450-451.²⁶⁰

6. The Princes Gabelian were sovereign in the land of that name in Ayrarat, on the right bank of the middle Araxes, across the river from the Abelians [1], together with whom they are frequently mentioned in the monuments, and were, according to tradition, invested with the office of Master of the Palace of Great Armenia. Like the Abelians, they seem to have been a junior

²⁵⁷ Lazarus 23, 30, 36; Eliseus 4 (119: <g>abelēnic') (Gazrik and Artēn Abelean took part in the insurrection of 450-451); 555 Acts; Ps. Moses 2.7: ascribes to this house a non-Haykid origin and projects it and its office to the time of the mythical King Vologases; he, moreover, mentions an Abelean at what must be the Artaxiad epoch: 2.60. Yet Faustus does not know this house. The non-Haykid origin need not imply a non-dynastic one, simply because the reverse is true; the Arsacids indeed were admittedly non-Haykids. This may support the theory of the Kamsarakan origin; see Adontz, *Armenija* 301, also 490; and, for the principedom, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363, 394; Garitte, *Documents* 194; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 127-128. The name of the principedom may have been derived from the Urartian Abilianeḫi: Melik'išvili, *Urat. nadpisi* 415; Bănăţeanu, *Beiträge* 1062-1063.

²⁵⁸ 505 Acts; Sebēos 25 (227: Vaḡaz-Nerseh Daštakaran); Moses Kal. 2.32 (Dastakerayn, var. Dastakerac'n); cf. Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 66.

²⁵⁹ Lazarus 23 (Vrēn Jiwnakan in the insurrection of 450-451); 555 Acts; Ps. Moses 2.7: ascribes a non-Haykid origin to this house (*supra* n. 257), but mentions its beginnings, and the creation of its office, together with those of the Hawenunis [7] and the Spandunis [9]; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 305, 490.

²⁶⁰ Lazarus 39; Eliseus 4 (129), 6 (151, 156) (Arsenius Ėncayac'i died for the faith in 451); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 321; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 205 n. 1, 313; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 344, 400; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 187; *infra* n. 305.

branch of the House of Kamsarakan [§ 12.16]. In the Arab period, having lost their State, the Gabelians removed to Vaspurakan where they last make their appearance among the vassals of the Artsrunis in the mid-ninth century. The Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus (920-944) may have been a scion of this house.²⁶¹

7. The Princes Havenuni, according to tradition Grand Faulconers of Armenia, ruled the homonymous canton in Ayrarat on the left bank of the middle Araxes, east of Abeliank', and seem to have been, like the Abelians [1] and the Gabelians [6], a cadet branch of the House of Kamsarakan [§ 12.16]. They removed to Vaspurakan in the Arab period, having lost their State, and there appear, at the end of their historical existence, in the early tenth century, as vassals of the Artsrunis.²⁶²

8. The Princes K'olian make their sole appearance in the insurrection of 450-451.²⁶³

9. The Princes Spanduni ruled a State in Ayrarat and were, apparently, still another branch of the Kamsarakans [§ 12.16]. They disappear from history after the seventh century.²⁶⁴

10. The Princes of Sruandzit are mentioned only among those who took part in the insurrection of 450-451.²⁶⁵

11. The Princes of Tashir (see § 11).

12. The Princes Trpatuni or Truni reigned in Atrpatunik' or Trpatunik', in Vaspurakan, where they are last heard of in the mid-ninth century among the vassals of the Artsrunis.²⁶⁶

²⁶¹ Lazarus 82; Eliseus 3 (95), 5 (129) (Gaba] and Xosrov Gabe]ean in the events of 450-451); 505 Acts; Thomas 2.6; 3.4; Ps. Moses 2.7: mentions this house's non-Haykid beginnings (*supra* n. 257) and the creation of its office, together with those of the Abe]eans [1]; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 301, 490; and for the principedom, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363, 368; Garitte, *Documents* 208; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 127-128; also: K. Tēr-Sahakean, *Hay Kayserk' Biwzandioni* II (Venice 1905) 35.

²⁶² 555 Acts; Ps. Moses 2.7; ascribes to this house the same non-Haykid origin (*supra* n. 257) as to the Jiwnakans [4] and the Spandunis [9], projecting the creation of their offices to the mythical King Vologases; also Thomas 2.6; John. Kath. 206-207; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 301, 490; *supra* n. 246; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 127-128.

²⁶³ Eliseus 5 (129).

²⁶⁴ 555 Acts; Sebēos 35 (226); Ps. Moses 2.7: mentions this house together with the Jiwnakans [4] and the Hawenunis [7] as of non-Haykid origin (*supra* n. 257). The name, on Adontz's suggestion, may be a derivation of the Kamsarakan family *praenomen* of Spandarat; *Armenija* 305 and n. 1. If they be indeed a branch of the Kamsarakans, the ascription to them of the office of Master of the Holocausts of pagan Armenia by Ps. Moses 2.7, must be fully imaginary; cf. Adontz 490.

²⁶⁵ Lazarus 39; Eliseus 5 (129), 6 (156) (Garegin of Sruanijt died for the faith in 451; Xurs of Sruanijt took part in that insurrection).

²⁶⁶ Eliseus 5 (129); Sebēos 6 (76), 7 (79), 18 (104); Ps. Moses 2.47 (non-dynastic origin

13. The Princes of Urts or Urtsadzor held the valley of the Urts river in Ayrarat as their princely State and appear in history in the person of Varaz-Nerses, son of Kołt'ek, Prince of Urts, who took part in the insurrection of 450-451, and are last heard of in the insurrection of 771-772, when one of this house perished in the battle of Archēsh, 15 April 772.²⁶⁷

14. The Princes Varazhnuni reigned in the canton of the same name in the Hrazdan valley west of lake Sevan, in Ayrarat. The historical tradition ascribes to them the descent from the divine dynasty of Hayk, implying their immemorial dynastic status, as well as the office of Master of the Hunt of Great Armenia; they first appear, however, A.D. 555. Having suffered the loss of their State, in the Arab period, the Varazhnunis settled in Vaspurakan as vassals of the Artsrunis, and there they last appear with the *marzpan* Isaac Varazhnuni († 1000/1).²⁶⁸

15. Finally we come to the general list of all the princely houses and all the dynasties of Great Armenia, of both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period. Several of these houses were branches of same dynasties, which are, accordingly, fewer in number; several dynasties had very numerous branches. This is typical of dynastic societies, such as the mediaeval Russia of the Rurikids, mediaeval Lithuania of the Gediminids, or mediaeval Poland of the Piasts. It has been noted already that in such societies, late arrivals in the princely caste can only be later ramifications of old dynasties. This consideration has prompted the acceptance here of several possible affinities as actual belonging. At the distance of time that separates us from the formative centuries of Caucasia and with the comparative dearth of source material, absolute certainty of a house's belonging to a certain dynasty is not always possible. The list to follow is a double one: of all the known houses — to the left — and — to the right — of the dynasties to which these houses belonged, or may have belonged.

pushed back to ancient times); Leontius 34 (144); Thomas 2.6; 3.2.4; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 231 and n. 3; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 323, 366; *infra* n. 301.

²⁶⁷ Lazarus 36, 37; Eliseus 3 (95), 4 (119); Leontius 34 (147). Not known to Ps. Moses.

²⁶⁸ The Haykid, i.e., dynastic, origin of this house is stressed by Ps. Moses, 1.12; 2.7 (the office); 2.11. Yet the Varazhnunis are not found in Faustus, Lazarus, and Eliseus, and first appear in the 555 Acts. It may, therefore, be inferred that they are a new offshoot of an older dynasty: a proof, precisely, of what is stated at the beginning of this section 14. Other sources for this house are: Sebēos 35 (226); Thomas 2.6; 3.4, 8 (Mleah Varazhnuni martyr in 853), 18, 25; Matt. Edess. 1.32. See also Adontz, *Armenija* 303, 490; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 365; Hakobyan, *Urv. Hay. ašx.* 167-268.

TABLE I

General List of the Princes

<i>Houses</i>		<i>Dynasties</i>
1. Abel'ian		1. Arsacids
2. Akē		2. Akē
3. Amatuni		3. Amatuni
4. Andzevats'i	I. Dynasty:	4. Mahkert
	II. Dynasty:	5. Orontids
5. Apahuni		6. Urartu
6. Aṛaveḷian		7. Alania
7. Aṛavenian		5. Orontids
8. Arshakuni		1. Arsacids
9. Artsruni and Adiabene		5. Orontids
10. Arzanene		5. Orontids
11. Ashots'		8. Mihranids
12. Asthianene		1. Arsacids
13. Bagian		9. Bagian
14. Bagratuni		5. Orontids
15. Balabitene		10. Balabitene
16. Bznuni		6. Urartu
17. Colthene		5. Orontids
18. Corduene		11. Corduene
19. Dashtakaran		12. Dashtakaran
20. Dimak'sian		13. Dimak'sian
21. Dziunakan		1. Arsacids
22. Dzorap'or		14. Gusharids
23. Ėntsayats'i		15. Mardpetakan
24. Eruanduni		5. Orontids
25. Gabel'ian		1. Arsacids
26. Gardman	I. Dynasty:	16. Gardman
	II. Dynasty:	8. Mihranids
	III. Dynasty:	17. Siunia (Gardman-Albania)
27. Gnt'uni		18. Gnt'uni
28. Gnuni		5. Orontids
29. Gogarene	I. Dynasty:	14. Gusharids
	[II. Dynasty:	8. Mihranids]
30. Gregorids		1. Arsacids
31. Habuzhian		19. Habuzhian
32. Havenuni		1. Arsacids
33. Ingilene and Anzitene		5. Orontids
34. K'ajberuni		20. K'ajberuni
35. Kamsarakan-Arsharuni		1. Arsacids
36. Khorkhoṛuni		21. Khorkhoṛuni
37. Kolbap'or		14. Gusharids
38. K'oḷian		22. K'oḷian
39. Mahkert		4. Mahkert
40. Mamikonian		23. Mamikonids

41. Manavazian	6. Urartu
42. Mandakuni	24. Mandakuni
43. Mardpetakan	15. Mardpetakan
44. Moxoene	I. Dynasty: 25. Moxoene
	II. Dynasty: 5. Orontids (Bagratids)
	III. Dynasty: 5. Orontids (Artsruni)
45. Orduni and Phasiane	6. Urartu
46. Otene	26. Otene
47. Paluni	27. Paluni
48. Rop'sian	28. Emesa
49. Rshtuni	6. Urartu
50. Saharuni	29. Saharuni
51. Siunia	I. Dynasty: 17. Siunia
	II. Dynasty: 17. Siunia (Gardman-Albania)
	III. Dynasty: 22. Mamikonids (Orbelids)
52. Slikuni	30. Slikuni
53. Greater Sophene	5. Orontids
54. Lesser Sophene	5. Orontids
55. Spanduni	1. Arsacids
56. Sruandzit	31. Sruandzit
57. Tashir	8. Mihranids
58. Trpatuni	32. Trpatuni
59. Urts(adzor)	33. Urts(adzor)
60. Vahevuni	5. Orontids
61. Vanand	34. Vanand
62. Varazhnuni	35. Varazhnuni
63. Zabdicene	36. Zabdicene
64. Zarewand and Her	5. Orontids.

The total number of the known Armenian princely houses is thus sixty-four; of the dynasties, thirty-six. The number of dynasties could be decreased if one were to regard the House of Bagian as Orontid and that of Dimak'sian as of the same royal Alanian origin as the Aravelians.²⁶⁹ It would, no doubt, be decreased further if the origin of many other houses could be ascertained. On the other hand, Pseudo-Moses has preserved the memory of two princely races which disappeared before the Arsacid period: the House of Murats'an and the House of Kadmos; Thomas Artsruni mentions, as in the mid-ninth century, five houses, which are absolutely unknown to earlier historians and so must be presumed to have been younger branches of old dynasties; and we know of the existence, in the ninth century, of a Prince of Locana and, in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, of the Princes of Digisene or Dëgik', the region of the ancient fortress of Angl in Ingilene, and of their descendants, the Byzantine family of the Cecaumeni.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ *Supra* nn. 249 (for Bagean), 231 (for Dimak'sean).

²⁷⁰ The Caspio-Median house of Murac'an is mentioned in Ps. Moses 2.8, 44, 46, 51, as

The above list of houses — be it repeated — does not represent any concrete historical situation: all of them never coexisted at one and the same period.

descended from Astyages of Media (cf. Amatuni [§ 12.3]) and exterminated by the Artaxiads; cf. Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 140. — Kadmos was the name of one of the early mythical Haykids: *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 3, 5, 6; Ps. Moses 1.10, 11, 12. The name seems to be derived from the Syr. *qadmoio'* or *qadmo* ('first,' 'firstborn'): Brandenstein, *Ursprung d. Arm.* 695; and its connexion with the Cadmus of Greek mythology appears thus to be coincidental. Cf., however, Karst, *Mythologie* 34, 41-42, 48-49. But the House of Kadmos, mentioned by Ps. Moses 2.4, 8, is not identifiable; and if it ever existed it must have early on disappeared from history. Thus, it is not known to any of the ancient historians; and Ps. Moses himself refers to it in a general way, at an early period, without mentioning it in any particular circumstances, or any members of it. Kadmos himself is considered an eponym of Corduene by Adontz, *Armenija* 418, and Markwart, *Südarmerien* 218-219. On the other hand, Lap'anc'yan, 256, and Manandyan, *O nek. sporn. probl.* 150, see in him the eponym of the land of Kadmuḥi, which according to the latter was connected with Uru-aṭri. In the Military Register (*infra* at n. 304), Kadmos stands for Adiabene. — The houses of the princely vassals (*nazarark'*) of the Arcrunis of Vaspurakan, unknown before Thomas, are Gazrik, Gundsaḷar, Harmac'i, Marac'ean, and Varazx: 2.6; 3.4 (Gazrik only). Gazrik must be derived from the canton of Gazrikan, in Vaspurakan: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 345 (known already to the seventh-century *Geography* of Ananias of Siracene, 33); Gundsaḷar = *gundsālār*, the Iranian term designating commander of an army unit: Christensen *Iran Sass.* 210; Varazx must be a derivation of the Iranian *praenomen* Varāzag; cf. *ibid.* 108, 277 (father of the Prime Minister Mihr-Narseh of the House of Spandiyād, one of the Seven Houses: *ibid.* 104 n. 1). These last two words may not have been surnames. — For Prince Curticius of Locana († 889), see Laurent, *Arménie* 257, 264. For the House of Digisene (Dēgik', Τεκής) and the Cecaumeni, see Markwart, *Südarmerien* 528-530, and (for the territory) 38-41, 49-50; *Ērānšahr* 171; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 302; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 58, 69, 76-78. The geographical position of this house may suggest some connexion with the House of Ingilene; on the other hand, whatever the explanations offered of the name *Kamen* = Κεκαυμένος (*Südarmerien* 529-530, 569-570), one may wonder whether it may not be regarded as a derivation from, or reminiscence of, the Arsacid Kaminakans of neighbouring Asthianene, for whom see *supra* at n. 95. — Finally, Adontz has attempted to prove the princely Armenian origin of another great Byzantine family, the Dalasseni: 'Notes arméno-byzantines: V. Les Dalassènes,' B 10 (1935) 171-185. He derived the name from the locality Dalaš(a) 'in Claudia,' and then connected this supposed princely house with that of the *Klundik'*, mentioned in the tenth-century list of Mesrop the Priest (for which, see *infra* at n. 273), by interpreting it to mean 'Claudians.' This is not easy to accept. To begin with, *Καλονδία* or *Κλανδιὰς* was a place in the vicinity of Melitene, in Cappadocia: cf. Honigmann 42, 81, 87-90, Map II. And so, even though indeed near to the frontiers of the Syrian March of Armenia, it was not in Armenia. More important still, Adontz himself has shown conclusively, *Armenija* 240-231, 257-259, that the list of Mesrop is a wholly worthless fabrication. If indeed it be admitted that the Dalasseni were originally the lords of Dalaš(a) in the vicinity of Claudias, their inclusion into the princely list of Mesrop must be regarded as one *ex post facto*, coinciding with their rise to prominence in the Byzantine State. We may presume them to have been Armenian nobles (*azatk'*); and this would possibly throw a new light at Mesrop's collection of names, revealing it to be a list, not only of the princely dynasts, but also of the landed knights; cf. *infra* at n. 302.

To find out the number of houses and dynasties existing at a given epoch, one must count the houses which flourished in both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid period together with either those of the Arsacid period alone, or those of the post-Arsacid period alone. It is, to be sure, well-nigh impossible to assert with absolute certainty that the result of this computation will be exact, because it is not always possible to say that some of the houses of the third category (of the post-Arsacid period) did not in fact exist, unmentioned in the sources, before the collapse of the Third Armenian Monarchy, or — to repeat — that more of these same houses were not offshoots of known dynasties, such as the Arsacids or the Orontids. In other words, the statistics of the Princes of Great Armenia which we are about to elucidate must of necessity remain, what all statistics are, approximate. On the other hand, what names there are in the above list there is good reason to regard as representing *all* the princely names of Great Armenia that existed during the formative centuries, for it is, I think, impossible to presume that the combined evidence of the ancient historians may have left unmentioned any dynasts, — as impossible, really, as to suspect Saint-Simon of having overlooked a single duke and peer of France. Accordingly, there now follow two lists: of the houses and dynasties of the Arsacid period and of the houses and dynasties of the post-Arsacid period.

TABLE II

The Princes of the Arsacid Period

<i>Houses</i>	<i>Dynasties</i>
1. Akē	1. Akē
2. Amatuni	2. Amatuni
3. Andzevats'i	3. Mahkert
4. Apahuni	4. Urarṭu
5. Aṛaveḷian	5. Alania
6. Aṛavenian	6. Orontids
7. Arshakuni	7. Arsacids
8. Artsruni and Adiabene	6. Orontids
9. Arzanene	6. Orontids
10. Asthianene	7. Arsacids
11. Bagian	8. Bagian
12. Bagratuni	6. Orontids
13. Balabitene	9. Balabitene
14. Bznuni	4. Urarṭu
15. Colthene	6. Orontids
16. Corduene	10. Corduene
17. Dimak'sian	11. Dimak'sian
18. Dzorap'or	12. Gusharids
19. Eruanduni	6. Orontids
20. Gardman	13. Gardman

21. Gnt'uni	14. Gnt'uni
22. Gnuni	6. Orontids
23. Gogarene	12. Gusharids
24. Gregorids	7. Arsacids
25. Habuzhian	15. Habuzhian
26. Ingilene and Anzitene	6. Orontids
27. K'ajberuni	16. K'ajberuni
28. Kamsarakan-Arsharuni	7. Arsacids
29. Khorkhoruni	17. Khorkhoruni
30. Kolbap'or	12. Gusharids
31. Mahkert	3. Mahkert
32. Mamikonian	18. Mamikonids
33. Manavazian	4. Urartu
34. Mandakuni	19. Mandakuni
35. Mardpetakan	20. Mardpetakan
36. Moxoene	21. Moxoene
37. Orduni and Phasiane	4. Urartu
38. Otene	22. Otene
39. Paluni	23. Paluni
40. R'opsian	24. Emesa
41. Rshtuni	4. Urartu
42. Saharuni	25. Saharuni
43. Siunia	26. Siunia
44. Slkuni	27. Slkuni
45. Greater Sophene	6. Orontids
46. Lesser Sophene	6. Orontids
47. Vahevuni	6. Orontids
48. Vanand	28. Vanand
49. Zabdicene	29. Zabdicene
50. Zarevand and Her	6. Orontids

There appear, accordingly, to have been fifty princely houses in Arsacid Armenia, belonging to twenty-nine different dynasties.

The numeration of the houses of the post-Arsacid period found below in Table III reflects the situation of only the initial phase of that period. That situation did not remain static. By the year 500, seven princely houses and the corresponding six dynasties had disappeared from history. They are marked in the list below by one asterisk. Then, by the year 800, fifteen more houses and the eight corresponding dynasties had been last heard of, at any rate in Armenia. They are marked below by two asterisks.

TABLE III

The Princes of the post-Arsacid Period

<i>Houses</i>	<i>Dynasties</i>
1. Abeljan**	1. Arsacids
2. Akē	2. Akē

3. Amatuni		3. Amatuni
4. Andzevast'i	I. Dynasty:	4. Mahkert
	II. Dynasty:	5. Orontids
5. Apahuni		6. Urartu
6. Aravelian**		7. Alania**
7. Aravenian**		5. Orontids
8. Arshakuni**		1. Arsacids
9. Artsruni and Mardpetakan		5. Orontids
10. Ashots**		8. Mihranids**
11. Bagratuni		5. Orontids
12. Colthene**		5. Orontids
13. Dashtakaran**		9. Dashtakaran**
14. Dimak'sian**		10. Dimak'sian**
15. Dziunakan**		1. Arsacids
16. Ėntsayat'si*		11. Mardpetakan*
17. Eruanduni*		5. Orontids
18. Gabelian		1. Arsacids
19. Gnt'uni		12. Gnt'uni
20. Gnuni		5. Orontids
21. Havenuni		1. Arsacids
22. K'ajberuni		13. K'ajberuni
23. Kamsarakan-Arsharuni		1. Arsacids
24. Khorkhoruni		14. Khorkhoruni
25. K'ollian*		15. K'ollian*
26. Mamikonian		16. Mamikonids
27. Mandakuni*		17. Mandakuni*
28. Moxoene	I. Dynasty:	18. Moxoene**
	II. Dynasty:	5. Orontids (Bagratids)
	III. Dynasty:	5. Orontids (Artsruni)
29. Paluni**		19. Paluni**
30. Rop'sian*		20. Emesa*
31. Rshtuni		6. Urartu
32. Saharuni**		21. Saharuni**
33. Siunia	I. Dynasty:	22. Siunia
	II. Dynasty:	22. Siunia (Gardman-Albania)
	III. Dynasty:	16. Mamikonids (Orbelids)
34. Słkuni*		23. Słkuni*
35. Spanduni**		1. Arsacids
36. Sruandzit*		24. Sruandzit*
37. Tashir**		8. Mihranids**
38. Trpatuni		25. Trpatuni
39. Urts(adzor)**		26. Urts(adzor)**
40. Vahevuni		5. Orontids
41. Vanand**		27. Vanand**
42. Varazhnuni		28. Varazhnuni

Thus there appear to have been in post-Arsacid Armenia forty-two princely houses belonging to twenty-eight dynasties about A.D. 400; thirty-five houses

belonging to twenty-two dynasties about A.D. 500; and only twenty houses belonging to twelve dynasties about A.D. 800.

16. There is reason to believe in the existence of registers of the princely houses that must have been kept in Armenia in connexion with the question of their precedence at Court, first of Great Armenia and then of Iran, as well as with their cavalry contributions to their lords paramount, first the King of Armenia and then — in return for subsidies — the Great King of Iran.²⁷¹ Yet none has reached us. There are indeed three lists that claim, by implication, to be authentic, complete, and even official. They have been thoroughly examined by Adontz and found to be lacking in the character to which they pretend.²⁷² The most recent of them is the least worthy of attention. It is included in the tenth-century *Life of St Nerses* by Mesrop the Priest and represents a late attempt to draw up a complete list of the Armenian princely dynasties of the past; but the compiler's imperfect knowledge of history and over-abundant imagination produced a text that is as fantastic as it is worthless.²⁷³ The remaining two documents are more respectable. One is called the Throne-List or *Gahnamak*;²⁷⁴ the other is a Military Register.²⁷⁵ Both are *ex post facto* compilations of an antiquarian, *livresque* nature and not contemporary official documents. The first list is concerned with precedence only, and, in general, reflects the situation prior to the destruction of the

²⁷¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 272-280. Ps. Moses, 2.27, mentions the royal archives of Armenia.

²⁷² Adontz, *op. cit.* 236-297.

²⁷³ *Ibid.* 240-241, 257-259. Through misreading a passage in Ps. Zenobius the author of the *Life of Nerses* assumed the number of the princes to have reached 400; he could, however, produce only 167 names, most of them erroneous or fantastic. Another misunderstanding of a source, Faustus this time, led some to speak of even 900 princes! cf. Adontz 238-239. See also Laurent, *Arménie* 65 n. 2, for various estimates; confusing Mesrop the Priest with Mesrop-Maštoc', he assigns the *Life of St Nerses* to the fourth century, and so seems to take the above spurious list seriously. Pliny's reference to Armenia's 120 (*not* 210!) *strategiae* or *praefecturae* (I at n. 98) has been dealt with in I at n. 237. Stephen Orbelian merely repeats the number given by the Military Register (*infra* n. 275). Ya'qūbī's and Yāqūt's references to 113 or 118 Armenian Princes, Muslim emirs, and other princes under the Prince of Princes of Armenia says exactly nothing about the number of the Armenian Princes. The 'other princes' may refer to various Iberian and Albanian dynasts.

²⁷⁴ The text: Adontz, *Armenija* 249-250. It was discovered by J. Axverdov and published in his Russian edition of the History of Ps. Moses, in 1858; its phototypic reproduction is given in Allšan, *Ayrarat* (Venice 1890) 430. This list, or its source, may be anterior to Ps. Moses (late eighth century); cf. Adontz 263, 291. In the tenth or eleventh century, Ux-tanēs knew it: *ibid.* 253.

²⁷⁵ The text: Adontz, *Armenija* 251-252. This document, likewise termed *gahnamak*, was first published by Bishop Šahatunecan in *Storagrut'iwn' Ejmiacni* (Echmiadzin 1842). It contains a list of the princely names and of the corresponding number of cavalry. This document, or its source, appears to have been known to Ps. Moses and to Stephen Orbelian (thirteenth century); Adontz 263, 254.

Sassanid empire. The second was drawn up from the point of view of the military potential of the principalities as it existed in the period between the years 531/579 and 750. Although not official and, moreover, marred by omissions and the presence of fantastic items, both documents contain much authentic evidence that is verifiable from unimpeachable sources — the very sources upon which the foregoing is based: the writings of the ancient historians, who were contemporaries or near-contemporaries of what they described; whose pages are replete, like those of Froissart, with great names.

The Throne-List and the Military Register contain names that are patently unauthentic as princely names, though most of them are authentic enough toponyms.²⁷⁶ The former document shows 69 names (numbered seventy, but it skips from No. 23 to No. 25); of these, 16 are unauthentic as *nomina gentilitia* or are geographical,²⁷⁷ 11 (in reality 10) stand for secundo-genitures, tertio-genitures, and still younger lines,²⁷⁸ 2 are, respectively, a term designating an office and a princely surname of a later date: ²⁷⁹ thus 40 houses remain, 4 of which belong only to the Arsacid and earlier periods.²⁸⁰ The Military Register shows 86 names; of these 18 are toponyms,²⁸¹ 12 are corrupt names which are most likely also toponyms,²⁸² and 5 are surnames, of which

²⁷⁶ The significance of this inclusion of toponyms will be discussed *infra* at nn. 300-302

²⁷⁷ Ak'acu, Artasesean, Ašahmarean, Basenoy datawor (Phasiane), Bžnuni, C'ul, Kaspeic' tēr, Mamberac'i, Mehnuni, Naxčeri, Taygrean, Tayoc' (Tayk'), Vaagraspu, Varaspakean, Varjawuni, Vižanu; cf. *infra* nn. 281, 282, 283.

²⁷⁸ Abelean II, Anjewac'i II, Apahuni II, Arcruni II and III, Dimak'sean of Buxa, Dimak'sean II, Dimak'sean of Siracene, Mamikonean II, Siunia II, and Vanand II. While in the case of Abelean, Anjewac'i, Apahuni, and Dimak'sean, the name is preceded by the word *ayl* ('the other'), in the case of the rest, the name is followed by *erkrord* or *errord* ('the second', 'the third'). The list needlessly distinguishes between Dimak'sean and Dimak'sean of Buxa; mentioned together, they stand for one and the same thing: the eldest line of the house, while Dimak'sean II, close to it, must indicate its cadet branch and Dimak'sean of Siracene, mentioned later, must mean an older subdivision, but, judging from its position, junior to the line of Buxa.

²⁷⁹ *Kaĭakapetn ark'uni* = Prefect of the City, no doubt occupied by a prince, and Gazrikan, for which, see *supra* n. 270, *infra* nn. 286, 303. In the same list, the House of Varažnuni is mentioned, likewise, by its office of Master of the Hunt = *orsapetn ark'uni*.

²⁸⁰ Gardman, Murac'an, Lesser Sophene, Zarewand and Her.

²⁸¹ Artasesean, Bak'an, Boguni, Bužuni, Gukan, Kčruni, Mazanac'i, Mehnuni, Patšparuni, Phasiane, Sodac'i, Tagrean, Tamrarac'i, Tayk', Truni, Varžnuni, Varjawuni, Vižanuni. — Artasesean, Bak'an, Bogunik', Bužunik', Krčunik', Mehnunik', Patšparunik', Ta(y)grean, Va(r)žanunik', and V(r)žununik', were cantons in Vaspurakan; Tamber, in Persarmenia; Sodk' in Siunia; Mazan in Ayrarat; and Va(r)žnunik' in Turuberran: Adontz, *Armenija* 256, 308, 315, 317-318, 321; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 338, 340-341, 342, 345, 348, 365. — For Tayk' cf. *infra* n. 285; for Phasiane and Truni, *infra* n. 301.

²⁸² Ak'acac'i, Amaskoni, Asčšnean, Awacac'i, Aycenakan, C'olkepan, Gržčuni, Hamastunean, Kinan, Sagratuni, Varnuni, Varazartikean.

4 are not princely and 1 anachronistic:²⁸³ thus 51 houses remains, 14 of which belong to the Arsacid and earlier periods.²⁸⁴

The information of the Throne-List regarding the secundo- and tertio-genitures is very interesting and wholly conformable to what evidence can be derived on this subject from the historians. It is, therefore, of value to append it here:

TABLE IV

The cadet Lines ²⁸⁵

Abel'ian II	Dimak'sian II
Andzevats'i II	Dimak'sian of Siracene
Amatuni II	Mamikonian II
Apahunii II	Siunia II
Artsruni II	Vanand II
Artsruni III	

These ten subsidiary political-dynastic units are not counted here as separate States, any more than are so counted the several princedoms that were

²⁸³ Abrahamean, Ašxadraean, Kaspec'i, Zandañan, and Gazrikan (*supra* n. 270, *infra* n. 286). Of the 35 names given in this and the two preceding notes, 16 are identical with some of the unauthentic princely names of the Throne-List: Ak'acac'i = Ak'acu; Artasēsean is the same in both; Ašxadraean = Ašahmarean; Bužuni = Bžnuni; C'olkepan = (?) C'ul; Gazrikan is the same in both; Kaspec'i = Kaspēlc' tēr; Mehnuni is the same in both; so is Phasiane; Tamrarac'i = Mamberac'i; Tagrean = Taygrean; Tayk' is the same in both; Sagratuni = (?) Vaagraspu; Varazartikean = Varaspakean; Varjawuni is the same in both; Vižanuni = Vižanu; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 257, 264.

²⁸⁴ Adiabene, Arzanene, Bznuni, Corduene, Gardman, Gogarene, Ingilene, Manawazean, Orduni, Otene, Sophene, Zabdicene, and Zarewand and Her; also Murac'an belonging to a pre-Arsacid period.

²⁸⁵ Secundo-genitures of the Houses of Amatuni, Apahunii, Arcruni, and Dimak'sean are noted by Lazarus, Eliseus, and Sebēos: Adontz, *Armenija* 256, 291 and n. 1. — In the House of Arcruni, Mardpetakan was in the hands of the senior line (= Arcruni [I]); thus, Mihršapuh or Neršapuh Arcruni is called at once *mardpet* and 'great Prince of the Arcrunis,' while Aprsam Arcruni is simply 'Prince of the Arcrunis' in Lazarus 39, 42, 47; cf. Eliseus 2 (55), 5 (129), 8 (250-251); possibly Greater Albak belonged to the latter; cf. Adontz 320. In this case his line must be the Arcruni II of the list. — Sargis Tayec'i mentioned in Sebēos 18 (104) among the princes must have been a Mamikonid. Since Tayk' remained Mamikonid to the second half of the eighth century, as witness, Sebēos 1 (41) and Leontius 6 (122-123), and since the Mamikonids are known to have had a secundo-geniture, it appears likely that Sargis of Tayk' was Mamikonean II, designated territorially in contradistinction to the senior line, called because of the multiplicity of its princedoms by the dynastic surname only. The case of Manag of Phasiane, of the House of Orduni (*supra* at n. 255) seems to be a similar one.

permanently united under the rule of one princely government, as in the case of the Bagratids and the Mamikonids.

Adontz believed that he had discovered more princely houses, but quite mistakenly. Partly because the Throne-List and the Military Register have in common some names which are not known as princely from any serious source, but which are nevertheless in part recognizable toponyms, though in part also quite unrecognizable, Adontz felt justified in regarding them as representing hitherto unknown houses.²⁸⁶ His premise for so doing, I cannot think to have been valid, since the compilers of the two documents may well have had access to each other or to each other's source or sources. Adontz accepted as authentic 4 demonstrably false names found in these two documents;²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Cf. *supra* n. 283; Adontz, *Armenija* 261, 262, 264, 321. And yet, of these 16, 4 (really 3) are on Adontz's own admission (256) unrecognizable: Ak'acac'i, C'ul, Sagrauni, Va[a]-grasp[un]i (the last two stand for one and the same name: Adontz 264). To these I would add 2 more: Varazartikean and Varjawuni. Then, 6 more are authentic toponyms: Artasesean, Bužunik', Mehnunik', Tamber, Taygrean, and Vižanuni (= Vržnunik'). Much is made by Adontz, 248, 262, 264, 321, of the fact that Bužunik' and Mehnunik' were episcopal sees; yet though the principalities had, for the most part, each its own episcopal see, the reverse was not necessarily true. Nor was the title of a see always identical with that of the corresponding princely State. Thus, e.g., the Bishop of Artaz was the chief prelate of the Amatunis (Adontz 321 n. 2). On the other hand, a dynasty reigning in several principalities might be connected with several episcopal sees, as the Mamikonids with their three Bishops, of Tarawn, of Bagravandene, and of Tayk' (Adontz 330-331). The text of Ps. Zenobius 48, which Adontz cited for the existence of the House of Mehnuni, is not, I fear, acceptable. In the first place, it is a late (*Introd.* at n. 15) and doubtful source and, secondly, the passage in question refers only to the 'band of fearless inhabitants of Mehnunik'' (*gund mi zučapeal Mehnuneac'n*), which has nothing princely about it. Gazrikan, on Adontz's admission (321) belonged only to the Arab period; and this applied to several of the above toponyms as well. For Ašxadarean and Kaspec'i, see n. 287; for Phasiane and Tayk', n. 301.

²⁸⁷ Of these 4 names, 2, Ašxadarean and Kaspec'i, are found in both documents, and 2 Abrahamean and Zandañan, only in the Military Register. All are spurious. Curiously enough, Adontz, *Armenija* 265, cf. 264, appears to think that Ašxadarean was a house known to Ps. Moses. Actually, the latter mentions (2.83) only Ašxadar, father of the wife of Tiridates the Great, who was, on the occasion of her marriage, raised by her husband-to-be to the rank of the Arsacids (i.e., recognized as *ebenbürtig*), but there is absolutely no reference to any family of Ašxadarean (unless this be an epithet of the Dimak'seans: *supra* n. 231). Nor is there any reference in any ancient historical writings to a House of Casplane (Kaspec'i; or of the Caspians = Kaspēlc'), which Adontz, 262, 263, 264, treats as real. The Military Register credits it with the contingent of 3,000 horse; and a dynasty of such magnitude could not have remained unknown to the ancient historians. The name simply disguises Atropatene, and, as Adontz himself half suggests elsewhere (289 n. 1), it was included in the Register because its compiler had seen in Faustus, 3.20, the Iranian viceroy of Atropatene reported as having mustered an army, precisely, of 3,000. Casplane (P'aytakaran) had indeed been wrested by Armenia from Atropatene: Strabo 11.14.5; cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 267-270. This is an indication, by the way, that, in order to make his list as complete as possible, the antiquarian-compiler used, besides what official registers

gratuitously, as princely names, 3 authentic toponyms in the Military Register;²⁸⁸ and, as a historical house, the mythological name used in the Register to designate the Vitaxate of Adiabene.²⁸⁹ He also thought to have discovered 9 dynastic names, 1 in Sebēos and 8 in Lazarus; which in actual fact is not justified by the texts alluded to.²⁹⁰ Finally, he tended to see, on the basis of Sebēos, in several cantons of Upper Armenia independent principalities, for which there appears to be no warrant.²⁹¹

there may have been, also the works of the historians. His inclusion of Aṣxaderean must have been due to a misreading of Ps. Moses (or his source); exactly as his inclusion of Abrahamean and Zandaḵan must have been due to his misreading Sebēos and Lazarus; for this, see *infra* n. 290.

²⁸⁸ Adontz, *Armenija* 231: Bak'an (perhaps included in the Register through confusion with Bagean), Gukan, and Patsparunik'; cf. *supra* n. 281

²⁸⁹ Adontz, *Armenija* 256, 262, 285, 418: Kadmean, which is the same as the Kadmeac'i ('[Prince] of Kadmos') of the military Register. For this legendary family, see *supra* n. 270.

²⁹⁰ Adontz, *Armenija* 247: (1) Abrahamean: Sebēos 28 (156-157) speaks of the Katholikos Christopher II (628-630) as *y Abrahamean tanē*, i.e., of the house or family of the Katholikos Abraham (607 -c. 610): there is nothing dynastic about this, Christopher is called *Ἀβραμίδης* in the *Gk List* 405; cf. 431, 430. Adontz 245: (2) Ajbewrkac'i: Lazarus 90 (357) mentions this name among some confederates (*uxlake'ac'n*) of Vahan Mamikonean, after an Arcruni and a Kamsarakan; but there is no reason to think that he was not an *azat* (noble): being in the company of dynasts need not make one a dynast! — (3) Aršamuni: Lazarus 81 (328) merely mentions a man as coming from the canton of Aršamunik' (or *ēr i gawarēn Aršamuneac'*); but since this person was a milk-brother of a Kamsarakan-Aršaruni there is reason to suppose that the text is to be emended to *Aršaruneac'*. — (4) Artakuni: Lazarus 71 (284-285) says that he was an *ostanik*, i.e., a courtier of the king or of a prince; cf. *Inf.* 215. — (5) Kark'ayi: Lazarus 90 (357); his case is the same as that of No. 2. — (6) Mardpetakan: Lazarus 90 (357) speaks of *Pačok i Mardpetakan*, which means merely 'Počok from Mardpetakan,' in the same circumstances as those of Nos. 2 and 5; cf. also No. 3. — (7) Yovsepean: Lazarus 83 (337) refers to him among a group of martyrs, some of whom were indeed members of the princely caste, while others not, like one who was a Greek and, unquestionably, this one. — (8) Aršakan: Lazarus 40 (156), 41 (159), 42 (160); but he was not even an Armenian, but a Persian. — (9) Zandaḵan: Lazarus 32 (128) speaks of him as an *ostanik*; thus his case is identical with that of No. 4. The Military Register, like Adontz, misreading Lazarus, includes this name among the princes.

²⁹¹ Sebēos 35 (226): *Ընդ առաջ ելին նմա Սպերացիքն, իշխանք Բագրատունեաց, և Մանաղայքն, և Դարանաղայքն, և որք յԵկեղեցաց զաւառէ, և ամենայն զաւրք տեղեացն այնոցիկ, և Կարնացիք, և Տայիցիք, և Բասենայիք* ('There came away to him the people of Syspiritis, the Bagratid princes, and the people of Manajl, and of Daranajl, and those of the canton of Acilisene, and all their trained forces, and the people of Carenitis, and of Tayk', and of Phasiane'). The mention of the Bagratid princes [§ 12.9] side by side with the Syspiritians — Syspiritis was the Bagratid principedom *par excellence* — is, I think, sufficient to show that all these territorial epithets denote not dynasties, but peoples. Some of them indeed constituted principedoms, like Syspiritis, the Acilisene of the Mamikonids [§ 13.18] and the Carenitis of the Aršakunis [12.1] while Daranajl belonged

17. The Military Register, as had been noted, is an antiquarian's compilation of the available data on the subject of the number of cavalry troops furnished by the Armenian Princes in fulfilment of their feudal obligations towards their lord paramount. The material used appears in part to have been official records, which must have been kept, especially in connexion with the subsidies received by the princes, in return for that service, from the imperial overlords of Armenia after the end of the Arsacid Monarchy: the Great King and, later, the Caliph.²⁹² The compiler appears also to have searched through the ancient historians for additional data.²⁹³ The names that figure in the Register are divided into four groups, or 'gates' (drunk'), corresponding to the four cardinal points, and are accompanied by figures indicating the number of horse contributed by each. This fourfold division of the armed forces reflects the one introduced in the Iranian empire by the Great King Chosroes I (531-579). This monarch's regnal years are, accordingly, the *terminus a quo* of the situation reflected in the Register. On the other hand, the institution of the Armenian vassal cavalry was discontinued by the Caliphate c. 750, which date is, therefore, the *terminus ad quem*,²⁹⁴ although, as will be seen presently, this term may rather be the downfall of the Sassanid empire. In his endeavour to make the list as complete as possible the author included in it 14 princely houses which had left the Armenian Monarchy or had become extinct before the establishment of the Sassanid emperor's immediate suzerainty over the princes in 428.²⁹⁵ The author, moreover, included 18 names which do not represent any dynasties at all, but rather designate various territorial units that may wholly or in part have belonged to princes of different names.²⁹⁶ The document contains also 12 names that are corrupt beyond recognition, but which seem to stand likewise for territorial units.²⁹⁷ Finally there are 4 *nomina gentilia* that are not princely.²⁹⁸

to the Church: Adontz, *Armenija* 124. But Adontz, 121, tends to regard all the above lands of Upper Armenia as separate princedoms (*supra* n. 209) and, moreover, places (247) Tayk' and Phaslane on his list of the princes. In this he was prompted by the existence of Sargis of Tayk' and Manag of Phasiane (*supra* n. 285) and by the fact that both toponyms are inserted in the Military Register and the Throne-List; *supra* n. 383. See also *supra* n. 270 for the supposed Armenian princely origin of the Byzantine Dalasseni.

²⁹² Adontz, *Armenija* 250-289.

²⁹³ *Supra* n. 287.

²⁹⁴ Adontz, *Armenija* 282-283. For the division of Chosroes I, see Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 370. For the suppression of the Armenian princely feudal aid to the Caliph, see Leontius 28 (128); cf. 25 (120) for the renown of the Armenian cavalry.

²⁹⁵ *Supra* n. 284.

²⁹⁶ *Supra* n. 281.

²⁹⁷ *Supra* n. 282.

²⁹⁸ *Supra* n. 283.

Some figures of the Register must be spurious, like those that follow at least 3 of the non-princely surnames.²⁹⁹ But that all the data of this Register be spurious — a figment of the compiler's imagination — is difficult to assert in view of the support given to them, as will be seen presently, by trustworthy sources. The figures that follow the known and the presumable toponyms are for the most part far below those credited to the vast majority of the princes.³⁰⁰ Accordingly, it could be supposed that the recruitment was carried out by the canton, or land, irrespective of whether that land constituted an entire principality or was, together with other lands, merely a part of one.³⁰¹ It could also be supposed that some of these lands did not form parts of principalities, but belonged to the *azat* nobility, possibly those of that class who were immediate vassals of the King of Armenia in his quality of Prince of Ayrarat. The territorial epithets, which in the Register represent some of the geographical units, indicate that lords, not lands, are meant. If true, this may be an interesting contribution to our meagre knowledge of the conditions of the *azat* class.³⁰²

The above Iranian fourfold division of the armed forces never existed in Armenia. What is found in the Military Register must be regarded as the compiler's attempt to approximate the memory of the four *Vitaxae* to the contemporary Iranian pattern. This is what suggests that the *terminus ad quem* of the pattern of the Register may be the end of the Sassanid empire.

²⁹⁹ Kaspec'i, Ašxadarean (*supra* n. 287), and Abrahamean (*supra* n. 290). The first one is absolutely spurious. The second and third may, after all, represent *azat* names; though this seems highly unlikely.

³⁰⁰ While, as will be seen in Table V, of the authentic princely houses, 22 had 1,000 or more horse; 7 had 600 or 500; 19, 300; and only 3, 100 each; or, assuming the probabilities discussed *infra* in nn. 305 and 306, 23 had 1,000 or more; 10, 600 or 500; and 12, 100; the toponyms are apportioned as follows: 1, 300 (Artasesean); 4, 200 (Amaskoni, Awacac'i, Bužuni, Varjawuni); 10, 100 (Aycenakan, Boguni, Č'olkepan, Hamastunean, Mazazac'i, Mehnuni, Sagratuni, Tamberac'i, Varazartikean, Varžnuni); 12, 50 (Ask'acac'i, Asčšnean, Bak'an, Gazrikan, Gržčuni, Gukan, Kinan, Krčuni, Patsparuni, Sodac'i, Tagrean, Var-nuni). I count the two Dimak'sean lines, each 300 strong, as one.

³⁰¹ The House of Trpatuni offers a case in point. This name is the same as Truni, as found in Ps. Moses (Adontz, *Armenija* 321 n. 3), but in the Register both forms appear: Truni is followed by the numeral 300 and Trpatuni by 100. This may, of course, be a case of duplication, or of sheer imagination, on the part of the author. Yet the difference in the figure may also suggest that while 'Trpatuni' stood for the nucleal land of the principality, 'Truni' represented that principality in its entirety, as composed of that land and of other territories. In the same way, Tayk', the nucleal Mamikonid land is credited with 600, while the entire Mamikonid contribution is 1,000, and Phasiane is followed by 600, while Orduni, the nucleal unit in that valley, is ascribed 100. In these cases, the smaller figure may be considered as a part of the larger.

³⁰² For the *azatk'*, see I at nn. 214-221; *supra* n. 270.

The pattern reflected in this document may well belong to the period between the reign of Chosroes I and that of Yazdgard III, yet the actual date of its compilation must be more recent. The inclusion in it of at least one name designating a house which came into existence only in the late Arab period would indicate that the Register could not have been compiled before that time.³⁰³ On the other hand, whatever may be the date of its compilation, it need not signify that the data it contains are not older. This adoption of an Iranian pattern to Armenia is wholly artificial, and so is the very distribution of the names in the four 'gates': 21 in the West Gate and in the East Gate, 22 in the North Gate and in the South Gate. Then, the West Gate is made to contain princedoms from *two* Vitaxates: Ingilene, from the Syrian March and once connected with that Vitaxate, and Arzanene, or the Arabian March, — these two States head the West Gate — and also some princedoms of central Armenia (e.g., Apahuni, Gnuni). The East Gate is headed by Siunia, which came indeed to play a margravian role on the eastern frontier of Armenia after the destruction of the Arsacid Monarchy, but the rest of the names in this subdivision are toponyms, obvious or corrupt. The North Gate is indeed presided by Gogarene, the Iberian March: but the South Gate has at its head 'Kadmeats'i,' or 'the [Prince] of Kadmos.' Kadmos was the name of one of the early mythical Haykids, the divine dynasty of eponymous heroes, but not of any historical family, in the formative centuries at any rate.³⁰⁴ The placing of this name at the head of the South Gate is either a pure archaeologism or — and this appears to be far more likely — a symbolic way of describing the only Vitaxa otherwise left unmentioned in the Register: him of Adiabene who controlled the Median frontier.

18. Apart from these defects, the statistical evidence of the Register will on examination appear to be in harmony with the data of the ancient historians. In examining the Register figures one is struck, however, by the fact that, while Ingilene and Arzanene, heading the West Gate, are assigned, respectively, 3,400 and 4,000 horse and Gogarene, heading the North Gate, is assigned 4,500, Siunia is credited with 19,400 and Kadmos-Adiabene with 13,200. The last two figures appear to be due to a copyist's error: the Armenian symbol for 10,000 — *u*³ — must unquestionably have been placed before the respective numerals *ḡḡ* (9,400) and *ḡḡ* (3,200) by mistake. Other-

³⁰³ The name is Gazrikan; cf. *supra* nn. 270, 283, 286. This must be so *a fortiori*, if Adontz be right in asserting that, along with Gazrikan, Bak'an, Patsparuni, Vižanuni, Taygrean, etc. also became princedoms in late-Arab period: *Armenia* 321. — It could be supposed, on the other hand, that these toponyms were included in the Register as toponyms and that the fact of their becoming princedoms at a later date had nothing to do with the date of its compilation.

³⁰⁴ *Supra* n. 270.

wise the glaring discrepancy in the potential of the theoretically equipollent margraves must remain without explanation. The Military Register represents *ex professo* the military situation of the post-Arsacid period, even though its compiler sought to include in it also the statistics relevant to the houses belonging only to the Arsacid period. To appraise the worth of its evidence for the post-Arsacid period we must, first of all, eliminate these houses. When we, also, take into consideration the emendation proposed above and discount the extra 10,000 from the cavalry of Siunia and of Adiabene; when, moreover, we exclude the number of troops ascribed to the toponyms (2,700), presuming the figures following these toponyms to be included in those following the princely States of which these regions must have been parts; and when, finally, we exclude the 4 unauthentic princely names; — we shall obtain 29,100. Adding the lowest possible number of horse (100) for each of the 6 less important post-Arsacid houses and at least 500 for the important House of Amatuni, all of which are left out of the Register, we obtain something like 30,800. This happens to be remarkably close to the number of cavalry in post-Arsacid Armenia — 30,000 — that has been established on the basis of unimpeachable historical evidence.³⁰⁵

If, on the other hand, we substitute the houses of the Arsacid period for those of the post-Arsacid period, we shall obtain 51,300, or, if we attribute quite hypothetically a certain number of troops to the 8 houses, some quite important, left out by the Register, 54,200.³⁰⁶ But, in order to calculate the number of troops in Arsacid Armenia, the contingents of the king, in his quality of Prince of Ayrarat, must also be taken into consideration. On this point the Military Register is silent. We happen, however, to have what appears to be an evidence for the number of the royal cavalry contingent — of the Artaxiad period, it is true, not Arsacid. Strabo, in speaking of how rich in horses Armenia was, mentions, *inter alia*, that Artavasdes II showed to Marc Antony 6,000 horse, fully armed and drawn up in battle array, apart

³⁰⁵ The houses unmentioned by the Register are: Amatuni, Daštakaran, K'olean, Mardpetakan, Sruanjit, Tašr, Urc. On the other hand, the Register credits the House of Ėncayac'i [§ 14.15] with 4,000 horse, a patent impossibility for this decidedly secondary dynasty. Since, however, this house appears to have been a surviving branch of the Mardpets, left out of the Register, it seems very likely that the compiler ascribed to it the cavalry contingents of Mardpetakan, which in the post-Arsacid period became a principedom of the Arcrunis. Ėncayac'i, therefore, may, like five of the above houses, be credited with only 100 horse. — For the number of the post-Arsacid cavalry, see Adontz, *Armenija* 287-288.

³⁰⁶ Of the houses omitted in the Register, Bagean, Balabitenne, Jorap'or, and Kolbap'or may be attributed 100 each; Amatuni, Asthianene, and Mahkert, being more important may be ascribed 500 each; while Lesser Sophene, hardly less important than Greater Sophene, may be credited with as much as the latter: 1,000.

from the rest of the cavalry.³⁰⁷ That this cavalry unit, set apart from the rest of the cavalry of the realm, was the King's own contingent, seems difficult to doubt. When we add this number to the one obtained above, we shall have 60,200. Now, this figure, too, is strikingly close to the lowest of the two figures which it has been possible to establish for the cavalry of Arsacid Armenia: between 70,000 and 120,000.³⁰⁸ The figures indicated in the Register do not, obviously, represent the entire military potential of the princes. The uniformity of the several degrees of their contributions — 1,000, 600, 500, 300, 100 — makes this amply clear, in the first place. Then, we know from Sebēos that in post-Arsacid Armenia, the Mamikonids, for instance, mustered on occasion 3,000.³⁰⁹ From Faustus, too, we learn that in Arsacid Armenia, the more important princes, precisely all, or many, of those shown in the Register as contributing 1,000 each — could muster up to 10,000.³¹⁰ In cases of extremity, therefore, the national forces, composed as they were of the princely contingents, could easily be increased; and this, undoubtedly, must account for the amplitude between the figures for the Armenian cavalry of the Arsacid period.

Finally, if we take the figures of the Military Register ascribed to the post-Arsacid houses which still existed c. 800, we shall obtain 24,900, or, adding 500 to represent the House of Amatuni left unmentioned in this document, 25,400. And indeed, it is known that the Armenian army had dwindled considerably in the Arab period, 15,000 horse being, it seems, the regular Armenian feudal aid to the Caliphate before it was abolished.³¹¹ The contributions of individual principalities must also have dwindled in the Arab period, and fallen below the figures known to the Register. This may well be the reason why the Register figures add up to a number which is higher than the one recorded by the contemporary historian.

The above figures may appear high, but in their geographical and historical context they are quite normal. Armenia was from ancient times celebrated for its abundance of horses, and the witness of ancient and mediaeval authors — that regarding the King of Armenia's own cavalry regiment has just been adduced — about the numbers of horse mustered at different times in Caucasia tallies well with these figures.³¹² Nor must it be imagined that all the men

³⁰⁷ Strabo 11.14.9: 'Ἀρταουάσδης δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης ἱππείας αὐτὴν τὴν κατάφρακτον ἑξακισχιλίαν ἵππων ἐκτάξας ἐπέδειξεν, ἥνικα εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν ἐνέβαλε σὺν αὐτῷ.

³⁰⁸ Adontz, *Armenija* 286-287.

³⁰⁹ Sebēos 30 (173). On another occasion, the Mamikonid and Bagratid princes are reported to have contributed to the Emperor 1,000 horse each; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 289, n. 1.

³¹⁰ Faustus 3.8; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 289.

³¹¹ Leontius 25 (120); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 287-288.

³¹² Here are a few data culled at random. The Achaemenian Satrap of Armenia (a fraction

fighting on horseback were members of the *azat* nobility. The figures are indeed too high for that. Serving in the cavalry regiments of the princes and of the king was indeed the privileged duty of that class,³¹³ which need not, however, have excluded their — naturally more numerous — armed attendants, and even members of the occasional levies-in-mass, from benefiting by their country's wealth of horses. It must have been its cataphractic character that distinguished the noble cavalry from the other cavalry units.

19. A comparison has been made earlier between the Armenian Princes and the Princes of the Holy Roman Empire after the Peace of Westphalia. It may be of interest, in this connexion, to juxtapose here the list of the cavalry contingents of the former with that of the contingents — mostly infantry — of the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, after the downfall of the Empire.³¹⁴ This difference between horse and foot is in itself an important factor for appreciating the relative political weight of the two groups. On the other hand, however, the abundance of horses in Armenia must also be taken into consideration.

TABLE V

The Respective Military Potential of

The Princes of Great Armenia and The Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine

Siunia	(1)9,400	Bavaria (K)	30,000
[Arsacids	6,000]	Westphalia (K)	25,000

of Great Armenia) used to send to the Great King 20,000 foals annually: Strabo 11.14.9. — Mithrobuzanes of Sophene met Lucullus with 2,000 horse: Appian *Mithr.* 12.84. — An army of Tigranes the Great was 50,000 horse and 250,000 foot: *ibid.* 13.85. — Mithridates Eupator's Armenian auxiliary corps was about 35,000 horse and 70,000 foot: *ibid.* 13.87. — Oroezes of Albania and Artoces of Iberia placed 70,000 men in ambush for Pompey: *ibid.* 15.103. — Amazaspes II of Iberia mustered on one occasion 10,000 horse and 30,000 foot: Leont. Mrov. 55. — Vaxtang I of Iberia mustered 100,000 horse and 60,000 foot; Juanšer 150. — Varaz-Bakur of Gardman dispatched to Vaxtang of Iberia an auxiliary force of 12,000 horse: *ibid.* — The Emperor Phocas claimed from the Armenians under his control 30,000 horse: Sebēos 20 (112); cf. also *supra* at nn. 308, 309, 310, 311. — It may be interesting to compare this with the total number of the forces of the Roman Empire prior to the death of Theodosius the Great: perhaps as high as 650,000; and also with the 7,000 horse forming the private retinue of a general like Belisarius: Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.* I 40-41, 43.

³¹³ I at n. 215.

³¹⁴ I § 14. — The second list of Table V (slightly re-arranged) is taken from Prince Jean d'Arenberg, *Les Princes du St-Empire à l'époque napoléonienne* (Louvain 1951) Table XIII 161-162. Like the Armenian Register, it does not show the full potential of the princes; cf. *ibid.* 162 n. 42. The Germanic contingents were rather predominantly infantry; thus Westphalia's contribution was 20,000 foot, 3,500 horse, 1,500 artillery (*ibid.* 151); Saxony's occasional contribution in 1806 was 4,200 foot, 1,500 horse (*ibid.* 148). — The abbreviations in Table V are: D = duke, GD = grand duke, K = king, P = prince, V = vitaxa.

Gogarene (V)	4,500	Saxony (K)	20,000
Arzanene (V)	4,000	Württemberg (K)	12,000
Mardpetakan ³¹⁵	4,000	Baden (GD)	8,000
Ingilene	3,400	Berg (GD)	5,000
Adiabene (V)	(1)3,200	Hesse (GD)	4,000
Bznuni	3,000	Würzburg (GD)	2,000
Apahuni	1,000	Mecklenburg-Schwerin (D)	1,900
Artsruni	1,000	Saxe-Gotha (D)	1,100
Bagratuni	1,000		
Corduene	1,000		
Gardman	1,000		
Khokhoruni	1,000		
Mamikonian	1,000		
Manavazian	1,000		
Moxoene	1,000		
Otene	1,000		
Rshtuni	1,000		
Sophene	1,000		
Vahevuni	1,000		
Vanand	1,000		
Zabdicene	1,000		
Kamsarakan	600	Frankfurt (GD)	968
Orduni-Phasiane	600	Nassau-Usingen (D) }	1,680
Andzevats'i	500	Nassau-Weilburg (P) }	
Aravelian	500	Saxe-Weimar (D)	800
Ashots'	500	Oldenburg (D)	800
Colthene	500	Lippe (P)	500
Gnuni	500		
Abelian	300	Mecklenburg-Strelitz (D)	400
Akē	300	Saxe-Coburg (D)	400
Aravenian	300	Waldeck (P)	400
Dimak'sian of Bukha	} 600	Arenberg (D)	379
Dimak'sian (of Siracene)			
Dzlunakan	300	Anhalt-Dessau (D)	350
Eruanduni	300	Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (P)	325
Gabelian	300	Schwarzburg-Sondershausen (P)	325
Gnt'uni	300	Saxe-Meiningen (D)	300
Havenuni	300	Isenburg (P)	291
Mandakuni	300	Anhalt-Bernburg (D)	240
Murats'an	300	Anhalt-Koethen (D)	210
Paluni	300	Saxe-Hildburghausen (D)	200
Saharuni	300		
Sjkuni	300		
Spanduni	300		
Trpatuni	300		
Varazhnuni	300		
Zarevand	300		

³¹⁵ *Supra* n. 305.

Habuzhian	100	Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (P)	193
K'ajberuni	100	2 Salm (P)	323
Rop'sian	100	Schaumburg-Lippe (P)	150
		4 Reuss (P)	400
		Hohenzollern-Hechingen (P)	97
		Liechtenstein (P)	40
		Leyen (P)	29

For a still better appreciation of the political weight of the Armenian Princes, a few territorial data may be appended here to complement the above military statistics. As has already been shown in Study One (§ 16), the uncertainty about the exact boundaries of many princedoms makes it difficult to estimate with precision the area which they covered. A careful study of Armenian historical geography could no doubt determine a number of boundaries and thus yield much valuable information about most of the princely States. As it is, some geographical data already available make it possible to estimate the approximate area of some of them. To begin with, Great Armenia itself covered a territory of some 238,400 sq. km., which was larger than that (228,275 sq. km.) of Great Britain. As for the principalities, it may be interesting in this connexion to continue the comparison between the Armenian and the Germanic Princes, and to juxtapose some of the available data regarding the former with those of the latter (as before World War I) and of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (of to-day). Accordingly, Siunia (c. 15,000 sq. km.) was of the same size as the Grand Duchy of Baden (15,081) and exceeded the Kingdom of Saxony (14,993) and the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (13,127); Greater Sophene (c. 9,800) exceeded the Grand Duchy of Hesse (7,681); Ingilene and Anzitene (c. 6,500) exceeded the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg (6,427); Syspirtis (c. 6,000) and Bagravandene (c. 5,000) exceeded the Duchy of Brunswick (3,672), the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar (3,617), the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (2,930), the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (2,586), the Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen (2,468), and the Principality of Anhalt (2,299); Lesser Sophene (c. 2,200) and Asthianene (c. 2,000) exceeded the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (1,977); and Balabitene (c. 1,500) exceeded the Duchy of Saxe-Altenburg (1,324), the Principality of Lippe (1,215), and the Principality of Waldeck (1,121). As for the population of these Armenian princely States, any attempt to assess it must, in the nature of the case, remain sheer guesswork.

20. So much, then, for the military and territorial potential of the princes and the Military Register. It remains now to return to the Throne List and to examine another aspect of the problem, that of precedence. Questions of precedence were regarded as a matter of great importance by the princely nobility of Armenia; and the relative position of the princely thrones (*gahk'*)

or 'cushions' (*barjk'*) at the Court of their suzerain, whether the King of Great Armenia or the Great King of Iran, was carefully regulated and scrupulously adverted to.³¹⁶ But, as has already been noted, no official document concerned with this matter has reached us. The Throne-List, indeed, is not content with merely indexing the princes (and adding, in the process, some spurious names), but it also professes to set forth the precedence that obtained among them. This is the only document, in fact, explicitly concerned with precedence. It is not, however, — and this, too, has been noted — an official register, but a later bookish compilation, the work of an antiquarian. This alone should incline one to date it from the Arab period.³¹⁷ It tends, moreover, to group together houses of different periods which could not possibly have coexisted at a given moment and so provided subject matter for it.³¹⁸ Finally not being an original document, it is compiled on the basis of the data found in the ancient historians. It is to them, accordingly, rather than to the Throne-List, that we must turn in order to obtain first-hand evidence on the princely precedence in Great Armenia.

The Throne-List, however, has left one imprint on historiography: — the idea that it reflects a system of precedence such as it actually existed in Great Armenia of both the Arsacid and the post-Arsacid periods and, more generally, that there did obtain in Great Armenia such an absolute and fixed, perennial system. Thus historians are wont to specify which place at Court belonged to what historical house.³¹⁹ And thus Adontz, in culling the data of the ancient historians, gives the impression of believing that he has discovered such a system. Now, when we turn to our sources, the *obiter dicta* of these historians, we indeed find, in their name-studded pages, princely houses mentioned,

³¹⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 272-277; cf. *supra* § 16 at n. 271. — It was customary, upon the arrival of the Armenian princely auxiliaries at the Court of their imperial suzerain of Iran, for the latter to send a high official to meet them on their way and to pose three or four times the ceremonial formulae of inquiry about the well-being of Armenia, and to inspect their troops; then to receive them himself in the presence of his Court and government and to address to them words of praise concerning individual princes and their ancestors: Eli-seus 2 (56). On the other hand, the Great King would occasionally accord a lower rank at his table to a prince in disgrace and raise to a higher one a prince enjoying his favour: Adontz 273.

³¹⁷ This is the antiquarian spirit that marks Ps. Moses writing late in the eighth century: cf. I at n. 171; III/II § 17 at n. 128.

³¹⁸ Thus, for instance, the Bznunis and the Murac'ans were not contemporary with the Abejeans and the Gabejeans.

³¹⁹ Accordingly, Grousset, for instance, asserted that the House of Kamsarakan 'dans l'étiquette de l'ancienne cour ... occupait "le quatorzième coussin,"' or that of Rštuni 'dans l'ancien protocole royal, occupait "le sixième coussin"': *Histoire* 290, 292. Actually, in the Throne-List, their places were the twelfth and the seventh, respectively: *infra* Table XIII.

as occasions arise, in groups. A comparison of these many partial lists shows that names in fact appear to follow a system of precedence. It was these indications, but by no means of all the available historians, that Adontz made use of.³²⁰ He seems to have failed to realize that, even though the ranging of the princely houses in the several lists of one particular period — say, the fifth century with which he was then concerned — does manifest a system of precedence, these lists must nevertheless remain fragmentary, because largely incidental; and this precludes our complete knowledge of what that system was. More than this, the system itself must have varied in the course of centuries, as some dynasties rose in importance and others declined, some houses disappeared from the society of Great Armenia, while new houses arose as a result of branching off from others. Also, although the several general strata — very important, important, less important houses — tend to remain indeed remarkably stable, and this throughout several periods, the relative position of some of the houses found within each stratum is subject to variation. This may be due, in the first place, precisely to the changes in the relative importance of houses; but it may also stem from the fact that several houses enjoyed the same rank and the difference between them was determined accordingly by incidental factors, such as the relative importance of the Crown offices they might additionally hold, or the relative age of the princes. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that these various lists are for the most part in no sense official documents, but historical narratives; and the relative position of the princes mentioned may have also depended on their personal importance for the particular event narrated, or the personal preference, or even the carelessness, of the author. It is clear, then, that, although there is ample evidence that a fixed precedence did in fact exist, subject to evolution, among the Princes of Great Armenia, the evidence of the ancient historians and some documents to be adduced now enables us to discover only what amounts to a relative precedence.

21. The earliest group of documents is the Gregorian Cycle: the Armenian Agathangelus, the Greek Agathangelus, the Greek Life of St Gregory, and the Arabic Life. All the four monuments contain what has been called earlier (§ 5) the List A of Agathangelus: the list of sixteen princes convoked by Tiridates the Great to a council and then sent by him to Caesarea in 314.³²¹ The first two monuments contain also List B: the eleven princes who accompanied King Tiridates on his trip to Rome. All the four versions of List A and the two versions of List B are, despite some variation, reducible respectively to two original lists. The substantial identity of the four, respectively two,

³²⁰ Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 238-292.

³²¹ *Supra* at n. 36.

versions precludes the possibility of separate interpolations; while the considerable difference in phraseology of the several versions does not permit us to suppose that — *per impossibile* — the insertions into several versions were made by one interested party. Since the Greek Agathangelus appears to have been translated in the years 464-468, the original two lists could not have been very distant in time from the events of the Conversion.³²² The presence, in the two lists, of houses which passed out of the Armenian orbit at the end of the Arsacid period — in the 380s — and the comparatively low place of those of Siunia [§ 12.25], of Khorkhoṛuni [§ 12.17], and of Artsruni [§ 12.8], which played a very great role already in the fifth century, tend to support this supposition. The lists below, in Table VI, can not be considered at all intended to be exhaustive. They simply give the names of sixteen, respectively eleven, of the greatest of the princes called by the King of Armenia for the performance of one of their feudal duties, that of giving him advice and of waiting upon him.³²³

TABLE VI

The Princes in the Gregorian Cycle (as A.D. 314)

*List A*³²⁴

1. Ingilene (and Anzitene)
2. Arzanene
3. Mardpet
4. Bagratuni
5. Mamikonian
6. Corduene
7. Sophene
8. Gogarene
9. Rshtuni
10. Moxoene
11. Siunia
12. Zabdicene
13. Otene
14. Zarevand and Her
15. Khorkhoṛuni
16. Artsruni

*List B*³²⁵

1. The Median Vitaxa (of Adiabene)
2. The Syrian (Assyrian) Vitaxa [= A3]
3. The Arabian Vitaxa [= A2]
4. The Iberian (Moschic) Vitaxa [= A8]
5. Ingilene [= A1]
6. Bagratuni [= A4]
7. Mamikonian [= A5]
8. Moxoene [= A10]
9. Siunia [= A11]
10. Rshtuni [= A9]
11. Khorkhoṛuni [= A15]

The apparent divergence between the two lists can possibly be explained. It would seem that the Mardpet, the Prince of Arzanene, and the Prince of

³²² *Introd.* at n. 4; my review of Garitte, *Documents*, in T 5 (1947) 382-383.

³²³ I at n. 196.

³²⁴ *Arm. Agath.* 112/795; *Gk Agath.* 136; *Gk Life of St Gregory* 98; *Arab. Life* 86.

³²⁵ *Arm. Agath.* 126/873; *Gk Agath.* 165.

Gogarene were placed in List A in their quality of princes among princes and in List B according to their office of vitaxa, which indeed carried with it the highest place in the nobiliary hierarchy. The text of List A actually makes this distinction when speaking of the Princes of Arzanene and of Gogarene and then adding that they were, respectively, the Great and the Other Vitaxa; whereas List B mentions simply the four margraves. As for the Houses of Moxoene, Rshtuni, and Siunia, it would appear that they enjoyed an equal status and the fluctuation of their relative position was incidental. The attitude of extreme caution which the documents of the Gregorian Cycle used to inspire, prior to their rehabilitation by Garitte,³²⁶ prevented Adontz from using them in this connexion.

Nor did Adontz attempt to make use of the History of Faustus. This was no doubt due to the fact that there are no long lists in that work, but several very short ones, which at first glance seem to preclude any possibility of establishing a general precedence. This impression is mistaken, however, and on collating the evidence found in 3.7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21; 4.4, 11, 50, and on resolving a few uncertainties in the light of the evidence of the Gregorian Cycle, the following is obtained:

TABLE VII

The Princes in Faustus (as in the Fourth Century)

	Mamikonian	
	(Adiabene)	
	Anzitene	
	(Arzanene)	
	Mardpet	
	Bagratuni	
	Corduene	
	Greater Sophene	
	(Gogarene)	
	Rshtuni	
Siunia	Kamsarakan	Lesser Sophene
	Amatuni	
	Asthianene	
	Phasiane	Vanand
	Andzevats'i	
	Colthene	
	Dzor	Kolb
	Khorkhoruni	Gardman
	Saharuni	Artsruni
Gnt'uni	Gnuni	Dimak'sian
Bagian	Habuzhian	Her

³²⁶ Documents; cf. T 373-383; Ananian, *Data et circostanze* 317-324.

Faustus always mentions the Mamikonids first, because they are the protagonists of his History and because of their office of High Constable. The three Vitaxae are mentioned in 4.50 and 5.15 without any indication of their relative position. The uncertainty of the relative precedence of the Houses of Siunia, Kamsarakan, and Lesser Sophene is due to the same fluctuation as is noted in the Gregorian Cycle in the case of Siunia, Moxoene, and Rshtuni; we may assume here the same essential coequality. Nor is any precision possible in the relative position of the last twelve houses. Faustus also mentions the extinction of the Houses of Manavazian and Orduni³²⁷ and of the House of Bznuni.³²⁸

22. Faustus is the last historian of the Arsacid period. The beginning of the post-Arsacid period is covered by Lazarus and Eliseus. The former is, for our purpose, the more important. First, because he covers an entire century of history (387-485), while the other deals with but a brief episode in that century (450-451); and, secondly, because, whatever may have been the date of Eliseus, his lists of the princes are given, quite evidently, *ad hoc* and as contingent to the unfolding of his story, whereas the better organization of the lists of Lazarus leads one to suppose them to be the result of a special research, such as consultation of the archival material, on the part of the author and so makes them, albeit possibly of a later date, more reliable. Thus the evidence of Eliseus can only serve to supplement that of the other.³²⁹ In these sources the fluctuation of the relative position among the princes becomes excessive. Lazarus has no less than seven lists, all of them differing from one another. The first thing to do, therefore, is to show them side by side, with numerals at the head of each indicating the numbers of the chapters of Lazarus's History where they are found. The horizontal lines mark off the four levels, within which the fluctuation occurs while these levels themselves remain stable.

Of these lists, only those of Chapters 23 and 42 approximate to official registers, the one being that of the princes assembled in council for drafting a reply to the Great King Yazdgard II's religious edict; the other, that of the princes departing for the Court of Ctesiphon. They, at any rate, may be presumed to be based on official registers. The remaining lists have no official or formal character whatsoever; those of Chapters 34 and 39 record the martyrs in the struggle for the freedom of Christianity in Armenia; that of Chapter 25 gives also the names of the princes going to Ctesiphon, but its informal character seems indicated by the expression 'of the House of ...' prefacing

³²⁷ 3.4 [§ 13.16, 18].

³²⁸ 3.8 [§ 13.6].

³²⁹ Tēr-Minasean, *Elišēi Vard. patm.* 16-23; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 242-243.

TABLE VIII

A. The Princes in Lazarus and Eliseus (as in the Fifth Century)

23	25	34	36	39	42	47
Siunia	Siunia	Khorkhoruni	Bagratuni	Khorkhoruni	Artsruni	Siunia
Artsruni	Artsruni		Khorkhoruni			Artsruni
Khorkhoruni	Rshtuni					Mamikonian
Mamikonian	Khorkhoruni					
	Mamikonian					
Vahevuni	Moxoene	Kamsarakan	Apahuni		Amatuni	Kamsarakan
Moxoene	Apahuni		Vahevuni		Vanand	Amatuni
Andzevats'i	Amatuni				Kamsarakan	
Apahuni	Vahevuni				Andzevats'i	
Vanand	Andzevats'i					
Kamsarakan						
Amatuni						
Gnuni		Dimak'sian	Paluni	Paluni	Amatuni II	Gnuni
Paluni		Paluni		Gnt'uni	Gnt'uni	Dimak'sian
Ashots'		(Vahevuni)		Dimak'sian	Ashots'	(Andzevats'i)
Dimak'sian				K'ajberuni		
				Gnuni		
Abelian		Dimak'sian II ³³⁰	Abelian	Ėntsayats'i	Aṛaveĭian	Aṛaveĭian
Aṛaveĭian			Urts	Sruandzit	Tashir	Artsruni II
					Artsruni II	Mandakuni
						Tashir
						Rop'sian

the names; those of Chapters 36 and 47, mentioning, respectively, the princes who took the side of Vasak of Siunia and those who were detained at Ctesiphon, are manifestly parts of the narrative and so likewise informal. This informality may explain why the lists in Chapters 34 and 47 infringe, in the case of the Houses of Vahevuni and Andzevats'i, even the relative position of the four general strata which is otherwise respected even in these informal lists. Adontz was, consequently, right in taking the register of Chapter 23 as basic, though he seems to have overlooked altogether the problem of fluctuation.³³¹ In the text of Lazarus, the Prince of Siunia is always mentioned first, because Vasak of Siunia was at that time the Iranian viceroy (*marzpan*)

³³⁰ It is not clear whether the second Dimak'sian is the representative of the second line or merely a younger member of the same line. Adontz thinks that this was an indication of a secundo-geniture: *supra* n. 285.

³³¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 242-248. Not all of the seven lists of Lazarus are adverted to by him.

of Armenia³³² and because also of his role in the narrative. But, more than this, the House of Siunia, as well as those of Artsruni and Khorkhoruni, had risen in importance by the mid-fifth century. With the defection of Armenia's outlying provinces at the end of the fourth century, Siunia acquired the importance of a virtual margraviate of the East, its military potential alone, as shown by the Military Register, and its size being sufficient to account for this. Already in the fourth century, a Prince of Siunia acquired, albeit momentarily, the dignity of Vitaxa of Arzanene; and in the sixth, Siunia became so great a State as to form, likewise temporarily, within the Iranian empire, a separate political unit from Armenia.³³³ The Artsrunis, on their part, rose in importance, in the fifth century, first, as representatives of the defunct Vitaxae of Adiabene and, then, as successors to the dignity and the State of the Mardpets.³³⁴ Finally, the Khorkhorunis may, too, have acquired a margravian importance after the loss of the Vitaxate of Arzanene, their neighbour in the south.

The list to follow is the result of combining what can be determined on the basis of the two 'official' lists of Lazarus with (1) the other houses mentioned in his 'unofficial' lists (marked here by an asterisk) and (2) still other houses found in Eliseus, but not in Lazarus (italicized here), which are here fitted into the 'official' table in accordance with what indications as to their relative position can, for want of anything more certain, be derived from the texts that refer to them.³³⁵

TABLE IX

B. The Princes in Lazarus and Eliseus (as A.D. 450-451)

Siunia	
Artsruni	
*Bagratuni	
Khorkhoruni	
Mamikonian	
*Rshtuni	
Vahevuni	
Moxoene	
Andzevats'i	
Apahuni	} coequal?
Vanand	
Kamsarakan	
Amatuni	

³³² Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 188-207.

³³³ *Supra* § 9; 12.25.

³³⁴ *Supra* § 12. 8.

³³⁵ The Kamsarakans are often mentioned by their other surname of Aršaruni [§ 12.16].

	<i>Saharuni</i>	
	Gnuni	
	Paluni	
	Gnt'uni	
	Ashot's	
	Dimak'sian	
	*Eruanduni	
	*K'ajberuni	
	Abelian	<i>Gabelian</i>
	Aravelian	<i>Akē</i>
Dziunakan	*Urts	*Ėntsayats'i
<i>Slkuni</i>		*Sruandzit
<i>K'oḷian</i>	<i>Trpatuni</i>	*Mandakuni
		Tashir
		*Rop'sian

23. For the first half of the sixth century, we have two important documentary sources, the lists of the princes who, together with bishops, took part in the two councils, both held at Dvin, in 505/506 and in 555, which proved to be milestones in the religious history of Armenia, on the road of its progress towards Monophysitism.³³⁶ It is, however, difficult to tell whether the list to follow may be taken as an indication of the precedence that obtained among the princes of the time, because at this ecclesiastical assembly they may have ranged according to the nature of their association with it, or their age, rather than their princely position. On the other hand, the social monism of the country may well have made their participation in the council contingent precisely on that position. The national religion that was born at these two synods was by definition the religion determined by, and a function of, a given single society, whereof the princes, no less than the bishops, were the natural heads. The rise of the Houses of Kamsarakan and of Vanand noted in the acts of these two councils may be due to their succession to the margravian position in the North, which had formerly belonged to the House of Gogarene. Still, the low place assigned to the Prince of Siunia, and also to the Prince Vahevuni, is not easy to explain.

TABLE X

The Princes in the Acts of the Council of Dvin of 505/506³³⁷

Mamikonian
Kamsarakan
Bagratuni

³³⁶ Toumanoff, 'Christian Caucasasia between Byzantium and Iran: New Light from Old Sources,' T 10 (1954) 139, 141-145.

³³⁷ *Bk. Lett.* 42; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 246 n. 1. — In this list the Bagratids are called by their gentilitial title of Aspet and the Xorxoḡunis by theirs of Malxaz.

Khorkhoruni
 Vanand
 Amatuni
 Paluni
 Dashtakaran
 Apahuni
 Gnuni
 Vahevuni
 Siunia
 Rshtuni
 Aṛaveḷian

In the acts of the Council of Dvin of 555, the Princes appear without ceremony, heads of houses as well as cadets, with cadets occasionally preceding the heads. A further complication is due to the fact that not all of the thirty-six persons assembled are designated by their surnames. The hitherto infrequent use of patronymics appears abundant here accompanying the *prae-nomina*; in one case, only the *praenomen* is given. It is not, therefore, possible to identify all the princes present at the council. However, here is the list of what precedence of families can be established.

TABLE XI

The Princes in the Acts of the Council of Dvin of 555³³⁸

Mamikonian
 Khorkhoruni
 Vanand
 Kamsarakan
 Gnuni
 Gabelian
 Abelian
 Dziunakan
 Havenuni
 Bagratuni
 Vahevuni
 Varazhnuni
 Apahuni

The closing decades of the post-Arsacid period are covered by the historical work of Bishop Sebēos. Like other ancient historians, he mentions in the course of his narrative all the princely houses of Armenia that played any role in the events of the time. There are, however, only four brief lists in

³³⁸ *Bk. Lett.* 74; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 246 n. 2. — In this list, as in the preceding one, *maḡraz* stands for the Xorxorunis.

this work. Adontz did not attempt to find out what system of precedence might be elicited from Sebēos, contenting himself instead with an alphabetical list of all the houses mentioned by him.³³⁹ He was, however, unduly pessimistic, for these four lists do in fact establish a kind of precedence. Of these, only one in Chapter 11 can be regarded as 'official,' that is, as based possibly on official registers or at all events bound to observe the precedence of the time because of its nature: it is the list of the princes departing on a mission to the Court of Ctesiphon. The other lists are rather incidental to the narrative. What complicates the data of Sebēos is that, unlike Lazarus, whose official lists give heads of families only, the former's lists are mixed, containing heads as well as cadets. This must doubtless render whatever system of precedence we can obtain less certain, for obviously the cadet of a greater house need not have preceded the head of a lesser one. On the following table, the asterisk marks the heads of houses and the names found in the other, 'unofficial,' lists are placed in square brackets.

TABLE XII

The Princes in Sebēos (A.D. 591-629) ³⁴⁰

Mamikonian	
Bagratuni	
[Khorkhoruni]	
Vahevuni*	
Artsruni	
Mamikonian	[Tayk*(= Mamikonian II)]
Siunia	
[Apahun]	
[Apahun II*]	
Araṗeljan	Amatuni
[Colthene*]	
[Dimak'sian]	
[Trpatuni]	

Finally, we may adduce here the precedence as given in the only monument devoted *ex professo* to the question of precedence — the Throne-List. It has been noted that this monument in itself has no independent worth, being based on various primary sources, some of which are known to us, but others not. In this, in the fact that it may reflect some primary sources unknown to us, is its value: it complements what has been established on the evidence of the known primary sources. Its evidence on the secundo- and tertio-ge-

³³⁹ *Ibid.* 247 n. 1.

³⁴⁰ Sebēos 11 (90); also 6 (76-77), 18 (104), 30 (175).

tures is, for instance, quite important (Table IV). With the omission of all the fantastic names that are found in it,³⁴¹ the following is obtained:

TABLE XIII

The Princes in the Throne-List³⁴²

1. Siunia	21. Gnt'uni	41. Habuzhian
2. Bagratuni	23. Gardman	43. Dziunakan
3. Artsruni	25. Saharuni	44. Akē
4. Mamikonian	26. Gabelian	45. Zarehavanian
5. Lesser Sophene	27. Abelian	46. Ėntsayats'i
6. Moxoene	28. Siunia II	47. Mandakuni
7. Rshtuni	29. Artsruni II	48. Słkuni
8. Vah[ev]uni	30. Artsruni III	50. Eruanduni
10. Andzevats'i	31. Mamikonian II	51. Spanduni
11. Apahuni	32. Rop'sian	52. Aṛavenian
12. Kamsarakan	33. Ashots'	53. Tr[pat]uni
13. Apahuni II	34. Dimak'sian =	55. Havenuni
14. Vanand	35. = Dimak'sian of Bukha	57. K'ajberuni
15. Amatuni	36. Abelian II	61. Varazhnuni
16. Colthene	37. Dimak'sian II	63. Vanand II
17. Gnuni	38. Paluni	67. Dimak'sian of Siracene
18. Andzevats'i II	39. Aṛavelian	69. Murats'an

24. The above tables demonstrate that, as has been noted earlier (§ 20), the princely houses of Great Armenia tended, through several historical phases, to be divided into several strata — very important, important, less important — and these strata remained, on the whole, rather stable, whatever may be said of the variations within each stratum and the occasional passing from one stratum to another. These several layers of precedence, moreover, correspond rather faithfully, though with a few exceptions, to the several strata of military potential, as shown in the Military Register. Another thing worth noting is that the majority of the houses unknown before the post-Arsacid period (§ 14) belong decidedly to the stratum of the less important houses from the point of view of both precedence and military potential. This tends to support the supposition that they were mere cadet branches of older dynasties.³⁴³

³⁴¹ *Supra* n. 277

³⁴² *Supra* n. 274. The numeration is that of the List; the spelling of the List has been corrected. The List omits the House of Xorxoruni.

³⁴³ Cf. *supra* n. 268 and § 15. I do not think it a valid argument to say, as one might, that the post-Arsacid houses were in reality always there, but that Faustus and the Gregorian Cycle omit all mention of them because of their comparative unimportance, because a number

25. The dynastic aristocracy of Iberia, as it existed in the formative centuries, may now be examined here. It has been pointed out in Study One that the Iberian Crown was more powerful vis-à-vis the dynasts than was the Armenian; and that, as a result, the feudal office of duke was not, as in Armenia, integrally united with every principedom. There were a few duchies, each comprising several lands, which were thus the equivalent of the Armenian provinces. But, while the latter were mere geographical expressions, the former were units of feudal government: in this the Iberian dukes were, on a reduced scale, the analogues of the Armenian Vitaxae.³⁴⁴ It appears that originally the dukes, though recruited from the princely caste for the most part, may not have been all hereditary.³⁴⁵ At all events, we have traces of but a very few ducal dynasties; but, then, the sources for the period in which we are interested are so sparse as to contain even less information on the princely dynasties of Iberia. What follows sums up our knowledge, by no means exhaustive, of the composition of the dynastic aristocracy of Iberia in the period which corresponds to the post-Arsacid and, in part, also to the Arsacid period in Armenia.

1. The royal house of the Chosroids was a branch of the Iranian house of Mihrān coming to the throne of Iberia at the turn of the fourth century in the person of St Mirian III, the first Christian King of Iberia. This dynasty was dispossessed in 580, when the Iberian Monarchy was abolished by the Great King on the demand of the Iberian dynasts. Thereafter, the elder line of the royal house continued as Princes of Kakhetia, its old demesne, but three members of it came, in the years 627-684 to the office of Presiding Prince of Iberia. It became extinct in the early ninth century.³⁴⁶

2. The Guaramids, or the younger branch of the Chosroid-Mihranid royal house of Iberia. While the elder branch of the Chosroids of Kakhetia [I] stemmed from the first marriage (c. 458) of King Vakhtang I Gorgasal of Iberia (c. 446-522), with Balendukht, daughter of the Great King Hormizd III, this branch was descended from his son Leo, born of the second marriage

of houses of the same political weight are in fact found in them, as Tables VII (Zarewand) and VII (Gnt'uni, Dimak'sean, Bagean, Habužean, Her[-Zarewand]) will show. Adontz, on the other hand, was inclined to think that Ps. Moses failed to mention certain houses because their military potential was below 300 horse; yet he mentions the Rop'seans whose contribution was 100 (this Adontz would explain by their royal origin) and omits, as Adontz himself is bound to admit, several other houses whose contribution was precisely 300 (Saharuni, Paluni, Eruanduni): *Armenija* 264-265. The obvious reason for Ps. Moses's omissions is the early extinction of these houses, whose comparative lack of importance made them escape the notice of the eighth-century antiquarian; yet cf. the House of Urc [§ 14.13].

³⁴⁴ I § 18, to be completed by *supra* § 11.

³⁴⁵ I at n. 255.

³⁴⁶ *Supra* § 11; IV § 7-12, 17-19, 21-24, 26, 31, 32-34; Geneal. Table.

with Helena, a relative of the Imperial house (485/486). Leo and his brother were given the Archduchy of West Iberia, composed of the Duchies of Cholarzene, Odzrkhe, and the western half of that of Tsunda, of which, however, they were soon deprived by the elder line and left as Princes of Cholarzene and Javakhet'i. Five members of this house were Presiding Princes of Iberia in the years 588-627, 684-c.748, c.780-786, three with the dignity of Curopalate bestowed by the Imperial Court. In 786 this house became extinct and its State passed to the Iberian branch of the Bagratids [§ 12.9].³⁴⁷

3. The Juansherids were an offshoot of the royal Chosroids, whose principedom consisted of lands in Inner Iberia and in Kakhetia, last heard of with the historian Juansher c. 790-800.³⁴⁸

4. The Vitaxae of Gogarene (see § 10-11).

5. The Bagratids appear to have penetrated western Iberia as early as the second century and acquired there the Duchy of Odzrkhe, in the possession of which they are last heard of in the reign of King Vakhtang I, in the fifth century. This branch is not to be confused with another, which passed to Iberia after 772.³⁴⁹

6. The Nersianids, appearing in the fifth century, in the reign of King Vakhtang I, figured in the eighth as Dukes of Inner Iberia and twice occupied the office of Presiding Prince of Iberia, in the years c.748 - c.780, the first occupant of this office, Adarnase III, was, in addition, a Curopalate.³⁵⁰

7. The Princes of Kola, in the upper valley of the Cyrus, north of the Armenian land of Vanand, appear in the Iberian sources, at about the time of the Conversion of Iberia (early fourth century). Unlike the first five houses, but like the Nersianids, they seem to have been of local origin.³⁵¹

In the Arab period and thereafter offshoots of the Armenian dynasties of the Amatunis [§ 12.3], the Artsrunis [§ 12.8], the Bagratids [§ 12.9], the Kam-sarakans [§ 12.16], and the Mamikonids [§ 12.18] established themselves in Iberia, the Bagratids even ascending the throne, and various other local dynastic houses begin to appear in the sources; but all this is beyond the scope of this Study.³⁵²

26. The West Georgian, or Colchian, dynastic aristocracy of the sceptuchs has been mentioned in Study One. The vicissitudes of West Georgian history, its passing under the rule of foreign — Mithridatid and Polemonid — dynasties

³⁴⁷ IV § 8, 11, 14, 16-17, 19, 21, 24, 27, 29, 31-32, 35; Geneal. Table; V § 12.

³⁴⁸ IV § 30.

³⁴⁹ III/II § 10.

³⁵⁰ IV § 30, 25-29, 31; Geneal. Table.

³⁵¹ V § 10.

³⁵² See Appendix C.

and, then, as a province, under the direct control of Rome³⁵³ do not appear to have affected to any extent its social structure. The dynasts must have continued under foreign rule exactly as they had subsisted under the Colchian Monarchy of old, and the authors of the first and second centuries reveal the existence along the Black Sea littoral of a few people-states, under dynasts styled Kings some of whom were vassals of the Roman Emperor.³⁵⁴ Two of these States came to play a great role in Georgian history. They will be mentioned first, and in the order of their accession to greatness, in the approximate list which now follows.

I. The Princes, later Kings, of Lazica ruled at first the southwesternmost section of the Euxine littoral (modern Chanet'i), where Arrian mentions King Malassas in 131, and then, in the mid-fifth century, conquered the whole of Roman Colchis (West Georgia), forming the Kingdom of Lazica, as successor of the Colchian Monarchy. This kingdom proved an apple of discord between Rome and Iran in the reign of Justinian I. This dynasty is last heard of with Tzathus II, installed in 555; and after the Romano-Iranian treaty of 561, Lazica tends to disappear from the sources.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ I § 10.

³⁵⁴ Strabo 11.2.13 (the Heniochi under four kings); 11.2.19 (the Soanes under a king); Arrian, *Peripl.* (A.D. 131) 15 (Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Μαχέλωνες καὶ Ἡνίοχοι βασιλεὺς δ' αὐτῶν Ἀρχίαλος ... Λαζοί· βασιλεὺς δὲ Λαζῶν Μαλάσσας, δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ σοῦ [scil. the Emperor Hadrian] ἔχει. Λαζῶν δὲ Ἀψίλοι ἔχονται βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν Ἰουλιανός· οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει. Ἀψίλοις δὲ ὁμοροὶ Ἀβασκοί· καὶ Ἀβασκῶν βασιλεὺς Πησιμάγας· καὶ οὗτος παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει. Ἀβασκῶν δὲ ἐχόμενοι Σανίγαι, ἵνα περ καὶ ἡ Σεβαστόπολις ὥκισται. Σανίγων βασιλεὺς Σπαδάγας ἐκ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει). There are other references, as in Pliny and Ptolemy, but they concern these and other groups as ethnic units without any indication of their political and dynastic structure. — See, for all this, Javakhishvili, *K'art'her. ist.* I 3-6, 28-30, 166, 173-175, 230-232; Gugushvili, *Table* 1-2, 149-152; *Division* 55-56; Lang, *Stud. in Num. Hist.* 6-11.

³⁵⁵ The sources for the Kingdom of Lazica (Egrisi in Georgian) include Arrian (*supra* n. 354), Procopius, Menander, Agathias, Malalas, *Chron. Pasch.*, Theophanes; see Javakhishvili, *K'art'her. ist.* I 239-240, 243-244, 246-262, 274-276; Gugushvili, *Table* 152-153; *Division* 56-58; Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 352-353, 357; II 267-271, 303, 492-494, 503-521; Brosset, in *Additions* 81-107; Herrmann, 'Lazai,' *RE* 12 1042-1043; V. Minorsky, 'Lāz,' *EI* 3/37 20-22; A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950) 255-268. — There are two rulers of Lazica mentioned, respectively, c. 662 and 696/697, who appear to have been Presiding Princes of Lazica, and as such no doubt local dynasts or even scions of the royal house. One is Lebarncius, *patricius Lazicae* (*Hypomnest.* of Theodosius and Theodore of Gangra 195), the other, Σέργιος ὁ πατρίκιος τῆς Λαζικῆς καὶ [var. ὁ] τοῦ Βαγρονικίου, who revolted against the Empire and submitted to the Arabs (Theophanes, *Chron.* 752: Καὶ ἐστασίασε Σ. κτλ. καὶ ταύτην τοῖς Ἀραβῶν ὑπέταξεν ([var. Γεώργιος, Βαγρονικίου] the near-contemporary Latin transl. of Anastasius the Librarian, made in the second half of the ninth century, has [1340]: 'seditioneque Sergius concitata, patricius Lazicae, hanc Arabibus subdit'; this rules out the variant of the *praenomen*). There can be little doubt that

2. The Princes of Abkhazia, later Kings of Abasgia, were the successors and possibly descendants of King Rhesmagas, mentioned by Arrian in 131, and their genealogy went back to the beginning of the fifth century. In the sixth and seventh centuries there were simultaneously two kings, or princes, of this northwesternmost coastal province of West Georgia, possibly representing two lines of the dynasty. In the 790s, Leo II of Abkhazia conquered the whole of West Georgia or Lazica from what Imperial control there was after the dissolution of the Lazic Monarchy, and founded the new West Georgian Monarchy of Abasgia. Theodosius III, the last sovereign of this house, was deposed in 978 and the throne passed to Bagrat III, son of the Bagratid [§ 12.9] King of Iberia and of Gurandukht of Abagia, Theodosius's sister. With this, the House of Abasgia disappeared from history — although a princely house of Georgia has claimed descent from it — and the Bagratids united the two Georgias. The land of Abkhazia was ruled from the eleventh century by the House of Sharvashidze, dispossessed by the Russians in 1864.³⁵⁶

3. The Princes of Apsilia and Misimiana, on the southeastern border of Abkhazia, appear in 131 with King Julianus and are no longer heard of after 705/711.³⁵⁷

'Lebarnicius' is another rendering of the same name as 'Barnucius,' which would make the two Patricians of Lazica father and son. I cannot share Ingoroqva's assurance in making of them members of the House of Abkhazia [2], by equating 'Lebarnicius-Barnucius' with Baruk in the genealogy of that house and thus ascribing to Baruk's son Demetrius a brother George (not Sergius!): *Giorgi Merč'ule* 193, 194, 196.

³⁵⁶ The sources include Arrian (*supra* n. 354); Procopius; Anastasius Apocr. 175 ('amici Christi principes Abasgiae'), 176 (the third Prince of Apsilia and Misimiana [3] died in January 665 'apud Christi amicum Abasgiae principem'); Theophanes, *Chron.* 792 (ὁ δὲ Ἀβασγῶν πρότις); *Mart. Abo*; Juanšer; *Divan*; *Chron. Iber.*; see Javakšvili, *K'art'herist.* 254-255; Gugushvili, *Table* 120-122, 139-140; *Division* 54, 58; Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merč'ule* 189-249 (cf. *supra* n. 255); Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Empire* II 304, 507; Peeters, 'Les Khazars dans la Passion de S. Abo de Tiflis,' *AB* 52 (1934) 21-56; S. Janašia, 'O vremeni i uslovijax vozniknovenija Abxazskogo carstva,' *BIM* 8 (1940) 137-152; 'Abxazskaja ASSR,' *BSE* 1 (1949); Allen, *History* 81, 83-84, Z. Avalichvili, 'La succession du curopalate David d'Ibérie, dynaste de Tao,' *B* 8 (1933); Toumanoff, *Chronology* 73-82; Brosset, *Additions* 174. — The princely house of Anč'abaje (with its branches of Anč'abaje-Abxazi and Mač'abeli) of Georgia and the Russian Empire bears the same name as that given to the ancient House of Abasgia: Allen, *loc. cit.*; Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga* III 480-481; *Sbornik svjedenij o kavkazskix gorcax* 6 (Tiflis 1872) 29. — For the House of Šarvašije, Dukes (from the eleventh century) and (from the fifteenth) Princes of Abkhazia, see Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* II/1 Add. ix, *Tables généal.* 649-650; Dolgorukov III 56-57; *Spiski* 103-104; Allen 107, 122, 137, 189, 207; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie* (Paris 1951) 390-394; Gugushvili, *Table* 145; Lang, *A Modern History of Georgia* (London 1962) 32, 41, 52, 80, 97. — Distinction is made here between the nucleal land of Abkhazia and the West Georgian Monarchy of Abasgia: both are *Ap'xazet'i* in Georgian and Ἀβασγία in Greek; cf. my *Chronology* 73.

³⁵⁷ Arrian (*supra* n. 354); Procopius; Agathias; Menander; Anastasius Apocr. 174-176;

4. The Princes of the Machelones and the Heniochi are mentioned in Strabo and, with King Anchialus A.D. 131, in Arrian.³⁵⁸

5. The Princes of Suania, the country lying east of Abkhazia, are known already in the first century; in 131, they appear, with King Spadagas of the Sanigae; at that early epoch they had access to the sea near the city of Dioscurias-Sebastopolis. In the sixth century, being cut off from the littoral, they played an unwilling role in the Romano-Iranian struggle, wavering between the two empires and their immediate overlords, the Kings of Lazica. After the eleventh century, Suania was ruled successively by the Houses of Gelovani and Dadeshk'eliani, surviving to this day, and was annexed to the Russian Empire in 1858.³⁵⁹

The sources for the Arab period and thereafter show the existence of numerous dynasties in West Georgia, exactly as in Iberia; and many of these houses of United Georgia survived the Bagratid Monarchy and, through the Russian annexation of the nineteenth century, found themselves incorporated in the nobility of the Russian Empire. All this is outside the scope of this work.³⁶⁰

27. The little that is known of the dynastic aristocracy of Albania during the formative centuries comes from the *History of Albania*, ascribed to Moses of Kalankaytuk', or of Daskhurēn.³⁶¹ The following houses — the first three of them are given in the order of their accession to the rule of the country and the others are listed in the alphabetical order — are historically identifiable.

1. The royal house of Aranshahik, traditionally descended from the divine eponym of the Albanians, Aran, a descendant, in turn, of Hayk, is the first known royal dynasty of Albania and possibly the one which, through the subordination to itself of the other fellow-dynasts, achieved the unification. Theophanes, *Chron.* 796, 797 (Marinus of Apsilia); see Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* II 303, 507, 515, 812; Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merē'ule* 126-127, 140-145.

³⁵⁸ *Supra* n. 354.

³⁵⁹ Strabo; Arrian (*supra* n. 354); Procopius; Menander; Priscus; see Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Empire* I 357; II 303; Güterbock, *Byzanz und Persien* (Berlin 1906) 106-108; Gugushvili, *Division* 54-55, 56. For the identity of the root S-N in both 'Suania' and 'Sanigae,' see Allen, *History* 28; I nn. 55, 58. That the Saniges of Arrian represent the Suanians, then still lingering on the littoral, there can be little question. The Soanes of Strabo (11.2.19) dwelt in the neighbourhood of the city of Dioscurias (modern Suxum), and the Saniges of Arrian, in the vicinity of 'Sebastopolis,' which is the name Arrian gives to the same Dioscurias: cf. Chapot, *Euphrate* 214, 366-367; Müller, *Cl. Ptol. Geogr.* 1/2 ix, p. 922 (note). — For the House of Gelovani, Dukes (from the eleventh century) and (from the fifteenth) Princes of Suania, as well as that of Dadešk'eliani, succeeding it in the eighteenth century, see Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* 1/2 433; Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga* III 471; Allen, *History* 137, 207; Manvelichvili, *Histoire* 387-390; Gugushvili, *Table* 145; Lang, *Mod. Hist.* 32, 41, 80, 96-97. — Suania = Georg. Svanet'i.

³⁶⁰ See Appendix C.

³⁶¹ *Introd.* at n. 17.

of the country and gave birth to the Albanian Monarchy. Superseded in the mid-first century by the Arsacids, this dynasty was nearly exterminated in the sixth century by the Mihranids of Gardman, who, in 628, were to acquire the Principate of Albania replacing the Arsacid Monarchy. The Aranshahiks, however, survived in one branch, settled at Gis, in Otene, down to the ninth century and may possibly have continued, down to the tenth, as the Kings of trans-Cyran Albania, in Shak'ē or Shakki and Heret'i.³⁶²

2. The royal house of the Arsacids, reigning in Albania from the first to the end of the fifth century. The end of the Arsacid Monarchy left the realm it seems, under the joint governance — precisely as in Armenia and, later, in Iberia — of the Great King's viceroy and the local princely families, of which that of Gardman, as Princes of Albania, achieved, under Imperial suzerainty, a hegemony over the country. A branch of the Arsacids, settled in Azbēt, survived till the beginning of the eighth century.³⁶³

³⁶² The earliest royal house of Albania is said by the historical tradition to have been descended from the divine eponym of the Albanians, Aṛan, of the House of Hayk: Ps. Moses 2.8; Moses Kał. 1.4,6,15. (For the Armenian Arsacid provenance of the linking of the Albanian royalty with the Armenian eponym, see Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 145.) Whether derived from Aṛan the eponym, or parallelly with it from the ethnicon Aṛan (= Albania: I at n. 58), the term *Aṛanšahik*/*Eṛanšahik* can manifestly have been used to designate only the Albanian kings; cf. Krymskij, *Stranicy iz istorii* 290 n. 3. For Krymskij, this was the title of the Albanian Arsacids. Yet Moses Kał. everywhere distinguishes between the latter and the House of Aṛanšahik; and so also do Trever (235) and Dowsett (*Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 108 n. 3). The House of Aṛanšahik must, thus, have been the pre-Arsacid royal house and its descendants. It was, however, the hostility not of the Arsacids, but of the Mihranids of Gardman that exterminated this family, with the exception of Zarmīhr, who was married to a Mihranid princess: Moses Kał. 3.17. In 1.27, Varaz P'erož of the House of Aṛanšahik is mentioned as settled at Gis; it is there that the House of Varaz P'erož is mentioned (as in the seventh century) in 2.32, where it is said to bear the title of *jak'nar* ('Butler'?; cf. Dowsett, 137 n. 3). Vač'agan Eṛanšahik defended Albania against the Khazars in 714: 3.16; and in the ninth century, Sahl i Smbatean, designated as both an Eṛanšahik and a Zarmīrhakan, played a considerable role in eastern Caucasia: Moses Kał. 3.19, 20 (Dowsett 214, 217); Thomas 3.11 (310) calls him 'Sahl, son of Smbat, lord of Šak'ē'; cf. Minorsky, *Caucasica IV* 505-510; Dowsett, 'A Neglected Passage in the History of the Caucasian Albanians,' BSOAS 19 (1957) 460, 462, 463; Krymskij, 'Šeki,' *Pamjati Akad. N. Ja. Morra* (Moscow/Leningrad 1938) 369-384; z. Bunijatov, 'O mestonaxoždenii srednevekovyx gorodov-krepostej Bazz i Šaki,' KSINA 47 (1961) 92-93. — In his *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th Centuries* (Cambridge 1958), Minorsky was inclined to think that it was the Mihranids who entitled themselves *Eṛanšahik* and that Sahl merely took over that title from them: 11 n. 2, 13; but cf. 21. This was written before the text of Moses Kał. became available through Dowsett's translation. The name of Sahl's father may suggest a Bagratid connexion: III/III n. 50. For the Kings of trans-Cyran Albania (Šakix-Šak'ē-Šakkī and Heret'i), see my *Bagr. of Iber.* I No. 26; Dowsett 221 n. 6; Minorsky, *Caucasica IV* 510-512; there seems to be no reason for not considering them to have been of the family of Sahl.

³⁶³ Moses Kał. 3.10; cf. 3.8.

3. The Princes of Gardman (the Mihranids) [§ 13.9].
4. The Princes of Dashtakaran [§ 14.3].
5. The Princes of Dzorap'or (see § 11).
6. The Princes of Kolbap'or (see § 11).
7. The Princes of Kołt', ascribed a descent from the Kings of Atropatene, surviving till the beginning of the eighth century.³⁶⁴
8. The Princes of Otene [13.19].

A few more houses mentioned in the *History of Albania* must remain for us but empty names.³⁶⁵ Albanian society and polity were wholly destroyed by the tidal waves of Islam and of the Mongols. The sources for the history of Iberia, Colchis, and Albania being more jejune for the period of the formative centuries than are those for the contemporary history of Armenia, the above lists of the dynastic houses of these three countries can not be considered nearly as complete as that of the Armenian Princes.

³⁶⁴ Moses Kaj. 3.10; cf. 2.32; 2.8.

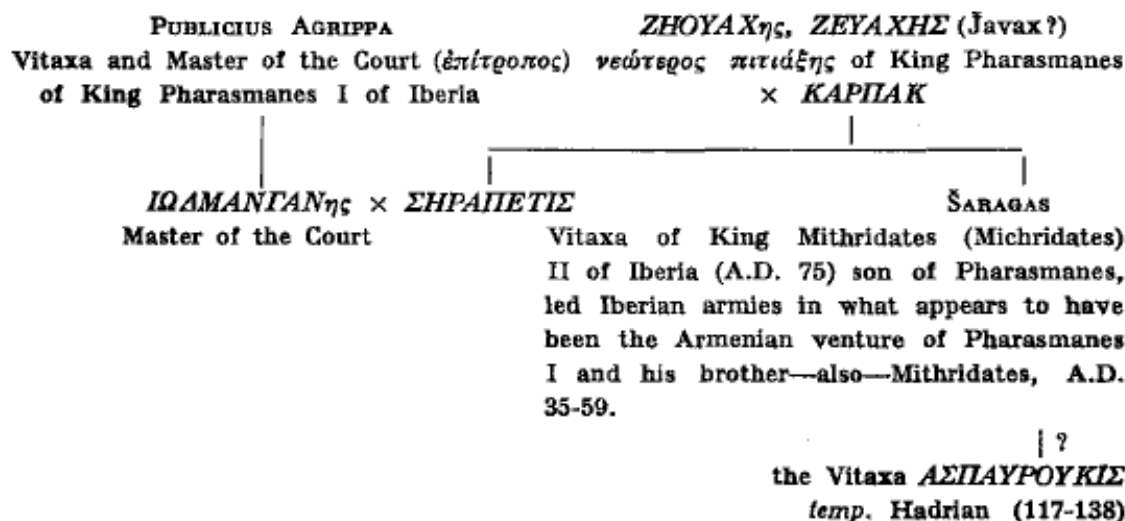
³⁶⁵ Moses Kaj. 2.32 (as of the seventh century): the Houses of Čnšmi (Čnšmīyan) and Mamšel (Mamšelun) in Sacasene; Hejeri beyond the Cyrus; the 'Sacristan' Varažan in Aražakan, and Tuerak. The 'Sacristan Varažan' is Doswett's rendering (*Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 137) of *Varažanu spasatunn*; this may be explained in the light of the lay adoption of ecclesiastical titles which can be seen manifested in the title of Chorepiscopus borne, somewhat later, by the neighbouring Princes of Kakhetia. One may venture, on the other hand, to see here a reference to the Armenian house of Varažnuni [§ 14.14]: a corrupt form of something like *Varažnuni orsapet* [= Master of the Hunt, *supra* n. 279], and an indication of this dynasty's connexion with Albania. In Moses Kaj. 3.10 (as at the beginning of the eighth century) are mentioned also, by *praenomina* and patronymics (with the Persian *idāfat*, cf. I n. 229), the following: Vahan i Varaz-Yohanean, of the Madianac'ik' of Iran (Dowsett 197 n. 2: Midlanites, or inhabitants of Ctesiphon = Madā'in), a Jacobite settled in Cambysene; Rostom i Varazk'oyean, originating from Stahr in Iran and settled at Kajankaytuk', in Otene; and 'the sons of the lords of Dailam' Zarmihr i Varaz-K'urdakean and Mahmat Šeroyan; cf. 3.8. The last three items, as well as some other names with personal patronymics found elsewhere, contain no indication as to the families involved.

APPENDIX A

THE VITAXAE OF GOGARENE

I. *The Gušarid Dynasty*

The Armazi monuments reveal the following Vitaxae of Gogarene of the 'First Dynasty,' if indeed we may presume the pre-Mihranid Vitaxae to have formed one—Gušarid—dynasty.



Sources: the bilingual (Graeco-'Armazic') and 'Armazic' stelae from Grave 4 of the necropolis of the Vitaxae of Gogarene: Apa'k'ije, *Mcxeta* Tables LIX (3,4), LX, LXI, 69-73 [Nos 80, 81]; gem from a gold belt from Grave 1: *ibid.* Tables I bis (1), XXXVII (3), XXXVIII (4), fig. 3, 6 (30, 31), 28-30 [No. 2b]; gem from a ring from Grave 2: *ibid.* Table XLVII (11), fig. 19 (49), 48-49 [No. 39]; gem from a ring from Grave 6: *ibid.* 79-80 [No. 91]. The Vitaxa Aspaurucis is known from his signet-ring gem from Grave 1: *ibid.* Tables I (1), XLV (1), fig. 4 (29), 26-27 [No. 1]. Grave 1 is, accordingly, regarded as his: *ibid.* 26. The latest coins found in it are four aurei of Hadrian, whose accession in 117 is thus the *terminus a quo* of the burial: *ibid.* 46. Since the gem [No. 2b] with the effigy of Zeuaches and Carpac comes from the gold belt ascribable to Aspaurucis, it has been conjectured that they were his parents (*ibid.* 29); chronologically, however, this is difficult to accept: he could have been only their grandson. The kinship of Publicius Agrippa and Zeuaches is not known to us.

Three other Vitaxae are known to us. — (1) BEPZOYMAΣ: inscription on the silver dish from Grave 3 (ΕΓΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΑΔΑΔΗΣ ΕΧΑΡΙΣΑΜΗΝ BEPZOYMA ΙΙΤΙΑΕΗ): *ibid.* Table LV (1), fig. 26 (63), 60-63 [No. 69]. If the name of the hitherto unknown royal donor be *Flavius Dades*, this Vitaxa may be considered a contemporary of the Flavian Dynasty (69-96), for the royal name must, in this case, be referring to his Imperial overlord: cf. *ibid.* 61. — (2) ARSAMES (after 226): silver bowl from Grave 2: *supra* n. 30. — (3) Buz-

MIHR, called 'the good Vitaxa' in the 'Armazic' inscription of the silver platter from Bori: E. Pridik, 'Novye kavkazskie klady,' MAR 34 (1914) 100, Table I, fig. 3; Amiranašvili. *Ist. gruz. isk.* 85-86, cf. Table 26; Ap'ak'ije 65. This Vitaxa may appear to be identifiable with 'Buzmirios, King of Iberia,' son of Buzmirios and father of the well-known Peter the Iberian, Monophysite Bishop of Mayuma (b. c. 409, † 488, or b. 411, † 491: Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Literatur* 246 and n. 3). Peter's genealogy is given in one of his two biographies, — his Syriac Life (itself a translation of a lost Greek original), ascribed to John Rufus, another Monophysite Bishop of Mayuma, possibly Peter's successor in the late fifth and early sixth centuries; for this, see Lang, 'Peter the Iberian and His Biographers,' JEH 2/2 [1951] 158-168. Such an identification is suggested in G. Tseret'eli (Ceret'eli), 'The Most Ancient Georgian Inscriptions in Palestine,' BK 36-37 (1961) 119-123. Indeed, the change from the correct title of Vitaxa of Gogarene or of Iberia to 'King of Iberia' would not have been unexpected in a foreign source: cf. IV Introduction n. 6; § 17 n. 9; § 21 n. 31. Ceret'eli, moreover, sees a confirmation of this genealogy in a Georgian inscription (Inscr. II, according to him: 115 etc.; Inscr. C, according to Tarchnišvili: *infra*) from the recently discovered ruins of the Georgian monastery at Bi'r al-Qutt, in the Judaeian desert, near Bethlehem: V. Corbo, *Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar al-Ghanam (Campo dei Pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni* (Jerusalem 1955), containing Tarchnišvili, 'Le iscrizioni musive del monastero di Bir el-Qutt,' 135-139; also *idem*, in BK 1954 12-17. In this inscription, the name that Ceret'eli interprets as 'Buzmihr' is found together with another, 'Maruan.' Now, 'Murvanoz,' i.e., *Murvan/Marvan/Mirvan*, was the original name of Peter, according to his Georgian Life, which is a subsequent adaptation of the other of his two biographies, the now lost Life by Zacharias Rhetor (c. 490): cf. Lang 168. Accordingly, Ceret'eli assigns the building of the monastery and the inscription in question, as well as another one (Inscr. III; Tarchnišvili's Inscr. B), to the epoch of Peter himself, i.e., c. 429-444, and so regards these inscriptions as the oldest known Georgian epigraphic monuments: Ceret'eli 124-125. All this would indeed make the celebrated Monophysite churchman, to whom some have recently attributed the authorship of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius (Honigsmann and Nucubije: see Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Literatur* 248) a member of the Gušarid Dynasty. There are, however, two reasons for hesitating to accept this. In the first place, the genealogical data of the Syriac Life have been subjected to a merciless analysis by Fr Peeters (*Débuts du christianisme* 54-58) and found wanting in authenticity. Some parts of these data, such as the name of Peter's father, may well be perfectly exact and indeed go back to the information received from Peter himself by his followers in distant Palestine; and there is nothing in itself impossible in his belonging to the house of the Vitaxae. But the unreliability of the Syriac Life in this respect makes it imperative to seek confirmation for all this elsewhere. Yet — and this is the second reason — the data of the above inscription, which if accepted would doubtless help to rehabilitate somewhat the Syriac Life, cannot in fact be accepted as referring to a Buzmihr, and so to Buzmirios the father of Murvanoz-Peter, because what has been interpreted as this name is in reality an abbreviated word which can hardly have anything in common with it — WRZN: Ceret'eli 115; Tarchnišvili, *Iscrizioni*. — For the Iranian name Burzmihr, see Justi, *Namenbuch* 74.

II. The Mihranid Dynasty

The following Mihranid Vitaxae are known:

- (1) P^rEROZ, son-in-law and kinsman of Mirian III of Iberia.
- (2) The SON OF P^rEROZ, whose daughter became the second queen of King Aspacures (Varaz-Bak^rar/Varaz-Bakur) of Iberia c. 378: Leont. Mrov. 135.
- (3) ARŠUŠA I, protector of St Mesrop, c. 430, then still Prince of Tašir: Koriwn 15.3; Ps. Moses 3.60.
- (4) BACURIUS, married Xuaranje, sister of Vaxtang I of Iberia: Juanšer 185, 199. Since she was four years older than Vaxtang (*ibid.* 143), who was born c. 439 (IV § 5), this marriage could take place sometime in the years 449/455.
- (5) ARŠUŠA II, † c.470, husband of Anušvram, whose sister Juik was the wife of Hmayeak the Mamikonid; he played an important role in Armeno-Iberian affairs in 450-451 and was *persona grata* at the Court of Ctesiphon; the celebrated gem must be his: *Mart. Susan* 1 (34); Lazarus 25, 26, 31, 62; cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 269-277, 279; Akinean, *Koriwn* 102-103 (considers Nos 3 and 5 as identical).
- (6) VA(R)SK^rEN, son of the preceding, apostatized under the Mazdaist pressure of the Great King and on 17 Oct. 475 martyred his Christian wife, St. Susan (Šušanik), daughter of Vardan II, Prince of the Mamikonids: *Mart. Susan passim*, and various hagiographical documents deriving from this monument (*Arm. Epitome; Georg. Epitome; Arm. Synaxarion*, 1, 2; the epitome in Ps. Uxtanēs cap. 67; in Peeters's Latin transl. *op. cit.* 40-48); Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Literatur* 83-87, esp. 85 (for the date of the martyrdom). These events are recounted not only in the hagiographical works adduced above, but also in Juanšer 216, though this story is misplaced in it. It is found in the reign of the last King of Iberia, Bacurlus III († 580), instead of in the first part of this work dealing with the reign of King Vaxtang I (c. 446-522) and of his immediate predecessors. The reason for this misplacement is clear. Speaking of Bacurlus III, Juanšer says: 'at that time there reigned in Iran one whose name was Hormizd' (215), meaning of course Hormizd IV (579-590); immediately thereafter the story of Varsk^ren's apostasy and of the martyrdom of Susan is introduced. In the part dealing with the reign of Vaxtang, on the other hand,—the part where that story ought to be found — another Hormizd (III) is mentioned (158), the only name of a Great King (except the purely dynastic denomination of *Xuasro*: Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 180 n. 3; Javaxišvili, *K^rart^r. er. ist.* I 289) that is found in it. The reign of Hormizd III (457-459) preceded the martyrdom; and the description of the latter must have been originally in the first part of Juanšer, somewhere after a reference either to Hormizd III himself or to a Great King understood to be Hormizd III. A redactor (or possibly the author) must have misread his sources and, confusing the earlier Hormizd with the later (no ordinals, naturally, are given in so early a text), placed the reference to the martyrdom after the reference to the latter, instead of after the mention of the former. Because of this misplacement, this witness to the martyrdom of St Susan has been completely neglected. Yet it contains an interesting information not found elsewhere. It is stated there that, in recompense for his apostasy, Varsk^ren received from the Great King the viceroyalty of Albania (*carmogzavna igi ... erist^ravad ranisa*). Indeed Albania, between the abdication the Arsacid King Vač^rē II c. 461 and the restoration of Vač^ragan III

in 485, was ruled by Iranian viceroys (*marzpānān*): Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 214-215, 225. There are, moreover, indications in the *Mart. Susan* 2 (35), 10 (39) of Varsk'en's connexion with the Albanian frontier (Heret'i). *Ibid.* 1 (35) mentions another recompense received by Varsk'en: the hand of the Great King's daughter, which was possibly the chief reason for murdering Susan. In 482, King Vaxtang, his overlord, put the apostate to death: Lazarus 66 (259); Juanšer 216 (where the death of Varsk'en is attributed to Bacurius); *Roy. List* II 63.

(7) JOJIK, brother of Varsk'en: *Mart. Susan passim* (e.g., 5 [36], 6 [37], 10 [39]). He may have succeeded his brother in the minority of his children: Peeters *Ste Sousanik* 271, 279, 296.

(8) ARŠUŠA III, mentioned in 540/541: *Mart. Eust.* 2 (47); cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge* 432, 387 n. 1.

(9) ARŠUŠA IV, one of the Iberian Princes A.D. 608: Cyrion I, Katholikos of Iberia, to Smbat IV, Prince of the Bagratids, *Bk. Lett.* 170-171; cf. Markwart, *loc. cit.*

(10) VAHRAM-ARŠUŠA V, sided with the Great King against the Emperor Heraclius and was captured in the battle of 12 Dec. 627: Theophanes, *Chron.* 661: ἐκρατήθη δὲ ζῶν Βαρσαμουόσης [variant: Βαρσαμολήσης] ὁ ἀρχὼν τῶν Ἰβήρων τῶν ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ Ῥωμαίους γεγονότων; cf. Markwart 143, 397 n. 1. There seems to be no need for splitting this personage into two as Markwart tends to.

(11) ARŠUŠA VI — 'The Vitaxa of the House of P'eroz, who was prince in T'ialet'i, Taširi, and Aboc'i [= Arm. Ašoc']', married the second daughter of Mihr(ian), head of the dispossessed Chosroids of Iberia, c. 748: Juanšer 241; cf. IV § 26 at n. 46. Juanšer does not give his *praenomen*, but in the *Roy. List* III 66 mention is made, as among various Iberian dynasts of the eighth century, of a Curopalate Aršušā. This *praenomen* indicates his belonging to the House of Gogarene; so most probably both sources refer to one and the same personage. But the dignity of Curopalate was reserved by the Court of Constantinople for the Presiding Princes who had replaced the abeyant Crowns of Armenia and Iberia; and the title is misplaced in the *Roy. List* IV § 14 n. 9, § 27. A lesser dynast, like him of Gogarene, especially when somewhat reduced in importance after the fifth century, would normally have received the Patriciate. And, as a matter of fact, there exists an inscription, undated it is true, on a stone of the *mamp'al* Aršušā the Patrician: T'aqaišvili in IKO 1 (1904) 65-66. It is presumable that it refers to the same Vitaxa. The title of *mamp'al*, which now makes its first appearance, seems to have become something of a gentilitial title of the later Vitaxae: Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merč'ule* 72.

(12) An inscription of the year 772, in the Samšvilde basilica, makes mention of the Lords of Taširi, 'Vitaxae by origin (*na'fesavič' pitiaxšni*)': Ingoroqva 72 n. 2; *Joel. k'art. matiane* 298. This may imply the loss of the Vitaxate by the Mihranid dynasty sometime prior to the date of the inscription. Else, the existence of a new cadet branch appanaged in Tašir may be indicated. Another inscription from the Bolnisi cathedral, held to be of the eighth century, refers to the *mamp'al* DAVID and his sons, and to the *mamp'al* ABUL: Č'ubinašvili *Bolniskij Sion* (Tiflis 1940) 74-75; Ingoroqva 72 n. 2. By the end of the tenth century, a certain *marzpan* Demetrius, Prince of Gag, is recorded as attempting to set up his son as *mamp'al* (*mamp'uł*) of Tašir: Asoljik 3. 30. This may have been the last echo of the Vitaxae attempting to regain possession of some of

their domains, now firmly in Bagratid hands. It seems likely, too, that a female descent is implied here, otherwise Demetrius could have claimed that position for himself. Finally, we have the last echoes of a vanished institution: the projection by subsequent historians of the title of Vitaxa upon various Bagratids, so largely the successors of the old dynasty, notably, by Juanšer, 244 (upon Ašot IV of Armenia and the sons of Smbat VI: *V* n. 64; cf. *III/III* n. 50) and by Stephen Orbelian, 37 (220), 38 (239) (upon Adarnase IV of Iberia and Gurgun II of Tao: *Bagr. of Iber.* I Nos 23, 25). With the Armenian writers, this title seems already by the tenth century to have become an occasional periphrasis of 'prince' or 'great prince': thus Asolík, 2.2, applies it to Vardan II of the Mamikonids. — It remains to add that while 'Ašusa' is the Armenian variant of the name so often borne by the Vitaxae, 'Aršuša' is the Georgian — and more correct — variant. Also, 'Varsk'en' is the form of the *Marl. Susan* and the *Roy. List.*, 'Vask'en' of Juanšer as we now have his text, 'Vazgēn' is the Armenian form: cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 271 n. 3. The original form of this name may have been 'Varaz-gēn.'

APPENDIX B

THE VITAXAE AND THE DIARCHY OF IBERIA

The historiography of the Vitaxae of Gogarene has recently been complicated by the Soviet-Georgian scholar P. Ingoroqva, who, in his *Jvel k'art. matiane*, made an attempt to correlate the onomastic evidence of the Armazi find with the story of the Diarchy of Iberia as found in Leontius of Ruisi, 43-54, and, in an abbreviated form, in the *Roy. List.* I 49-50. It has been recognized by Javakšvili (*K'art. er. ist.* I [3rd ed. Tiflis 1928] 216, but not in the 4th ed. 235-236) and Melikset-Bekov (*Armazni* 28-32) that the story of the division of Iberia, allegedly from about the mid-first to about the mid-second century, between two lines of the royal house, one of them residing at Mc'xet'a north of the Cyrus, the other south of it, at Armazi, is but a *livresque* reflexion of true history, which must have been quite different.

The artificiality of the story is quite palpable. There is no mention of any diarchy in the contemporary foreign references to Iberia, but, on the contrary, only references to sole monarchs, such as Pharsmanes I, Mithridates II, Amasaspes, Pharasmanes II (cf. e.g., Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 146); the alleged succession to the two parallel thrones is naively artificial, the diarchs ascending and dying simultaneously; finally, the name of one of them offers the clue to the story. It is 'Armazael' (Leont. *Mrov.* 45, 46, 47, 50, 100 [in some MSS: 'Amazar,' 'Amza(h)er']; cf. *IV Excursus A* at n. 12) which is borne by the Mc'xet'a counterpart of King Azork of Armazi. But actually it is no name at all, but the territorial epithet of, precisely, the latter, being the Georgian for 'of Armazi.' Azork was so dubbed because, doubtless, he had chosen the old capital of Iberia for his residence (in the same way. King Vaxtang I's son, King Dač'i was surnamed Ujarmeli, because the city of Ujarma, and not Mc'xet'a, appears to have been his residence: *IV* § 8 at n. 30). Seeing this, Leontius or his source split that king into two: one, king indeed at Armazi and the other,

at the usual and newer Iberian capital of Mc'xet'a. Others must then have been added for good measure. A vague memory of some historical reality must, at the same time, have endowed this construction with credibility. Javaxišvili has suggested, with reason it seems, that this double series of kings is a memory of the actual, but briefer, division of Iberia in the years 370-378 (for which, see V § 11 at nn. 103-109). At the same time, the presence within the Iberian polity, precisely from the mid-first to the mid-second century, of the powerful Vitaxae of Gogarene and the construction of their sumptuous necropolis near the sacred city of Armazi may, on their part, also have contributed to the birth of the story.

This has been recognized by Ingoroqva. The only difficulty is that he has tried to prove too much. He thus speaks of the — Gušarid — 'Vitaxae of Armazi' as co-kings with the royal house of Iberia, which resided at Mc'xet'a. In so doing, he overlooks the fact pointed out by Gorgaje that it is in effect the Armazi series of kings, not the Mc'xet'a series, that contains most of the names of the Kings of Iberia known to foreign sources. Some of Ingoroqva's identifications, too, are far from convincing. Thus, the Vitaxa Bersaumas (Appendix A I), which rather obviously represents the Aramaic Bar Šauma (cf. Ceret'eli, *Ėpigr. naxodki* 50), is identified with the king of divided Iberia, called Bartom by Leont. Mrov. (43-44) and Bratman by the *Roy. List I* (49 = Marr and Brière, *Langue* 570) and who, according to Ingoroqva ought to be called Barc'om/Barac'man. In this connexion, he would interpret the two mysterious signs on the silver dish of Bersaumas (from Grave 3, No. 69: Appendix A I) as an early form of the Georgian ecclesiastical capitals B + P and K'. And these letters mean, accordingly, either 'Berc'um, Vitaxa of Iberia' (*B[erc'um] P[atiaxši] K'[arflisa]*) or, more likely, 'Berc'um Vitaxa, (son of) K'arjam': *Jvel k'arf. matiane* Nos 14 and 14a; in BIM 10 (1941) 411-417; cf. Ap'ak'ije, *Mcxeta* 61-62 (it is not at all certain that these signs are Georgian letters). Now the latter name — K'arram of the *Roy. List I* (49; *rectius* K'arjam: Marr and Brière 570) or K'art'am in Leont. Mrov. (43-44) — stands for another King of divided Iberia. Him, Ingoroqva makes the father of Bersaumas and the bearer of the name, which is a title, of Flavius Dades — assumed to honour his Imperial suzerain (*Flaviodates?*): *Jvel k'arf. matiane* 290; in BIM 10 417; cf. Ap'ak'ije 61-62. This involves a rather unjustifiable reshuffling of evidence, for Leont. Mrov. is definite in stating that K'art'am was a younger brother of Bartom, and the *Roy. List I*, while not specifying their kinship and reversing the order in which they are named, shows the two to have been contemporaries, as well as, of course, co-rulers. These two kings were succeeded by another pair, Pharasmanes II and Kaos: Leont. Mrov. 44; *Roy. List I* 50 (= Marr and Brière 571: Kaoz). The latter is identified by Ingoroqva with the Vitaxa Publicius Agrippa (Appendix A I): *Jvel k'arf. matiane* No. 15a. Apart from the improbability of these approximations, there is the fact which Ingoroqva seems to have overlooked, namely, that Bartom and Kaos, of whom he would make 'Vitaxae of Armazi,' were, according to Leont. Mrov. and the *Roy. List*, Kings of divided Iberia at Mc'xet'a, while K'art'am and Pharasmanes II — Kings at Mc'xet'a according to Ingoroqva — were actually, according to the same tradition, Kings at Armazi.

For the rest, Ingoroqva's list of the Kings of Iberia, in *Jvel k'arf. matiane*, si made to include (No. 16) the hitherto unknown King of Iberia Xepharnuges,

revealed in the Armazi monuments (Appendix A D). All in all, the fundamental weakness of his construction seems to me to consist in the fact that he assumes that the Vitaxae exercised sovereign rights at Armazi, when all that we are entitled to say is that they were important enough vassals of the Kings of Iberia to construct their burial ground, and, possibly, also a palace, in the vicinity of the holy city of Iberian paganism, where others also were buried. This assumption and the correlative one of their co-kingship with the royal house, coupled with an avoidance of all recognition of the Armenian context of the Vitaxae (cf. *supra* n. 163), must have induced Ingoroqva to regard them — both the Gušarids and the Mihranids as apparently one family — as a branch of the — Pharnanazid? — royal house of Iberia, and, more than that, as also the ancestors of the Iberian Bagratids and as forming two separate branches, of the Vitaxae of Armazi and the Vitaxae of Artanu i in Cholarzene. In this particular view (*Giorgi Merčule* 72), Ingoroqva seems to have been influenced, in part, by Marr who misinterpreted as signifying 'of Artanuji' the 'rḡnw' which the Arabic Life of St Gregory connects with the title of vitaxa. Elsewhere, however, he recognizes the fact that the Arabic vocable in question must stand for Arzanene: *ibid.* 368-374, 405. That this is indeed so, has been proved by Garitte on the basis of the Greek Life, which he discovered and published in 1946 (and with which Ingoroqva is not familiar): *Documents* 200-202, 345, 346-347. See, for all this, III/II § 18, and V n. 64.

APPENDIX C

ASPECTS OF GEORGIAN SOCIETY AFTER THE FORMATIVE CENTURIES

The Georgian States on the eve of their several annexations by the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century represented the sole remnants of Caucasian society and polity, the early history of which has been examined in I and II. And the Georgian nobility at its dynastic level at least had remained a singular survival, — an institution, in fact a caste, which, whatever the genealogical possibilities of individual houses composing it, was traceable as a social group to the very origins of Caucasian society. It was thus a direct continuation of early East and West Georgian society (I § 10-11, 18; II § 25-26), and also, through the influx, after the end of the formative centuries, of numerous Armenian princely houses, of that of Great Armenia. The West Georgian dynasts — under whatever foreign control of the moment — and the East Georgian dynasts, after the abolition of the Monarchy in 580, were the reigning oligarchs of their respective countries, headed by — in Iberia after 588 and in Lazica-Colchis in the seventh century — Presiding Princes. In the 790s, West Georgia became the Monarchy of Abasgia; and in 813, a branch of the Bagratids [§ 12.9] monopolized the Principate of Iberia and then, in 888, restored the dormant Iberian kingship. The union of Abasgia and Iberia in the eleventh century laid the foundation of the *grande monarchie* of the Golden Age. It was then that the Georgians succeeded to the pan-Caucasian cosmocracy of the earlier Armenians, and the power of the Georgian Crown was enhanced vis-à-vis the dynastic aristocracy of both its eastern and its western realm.

Thus, whatever feudalistic features had been already found in Georgian society now were greatly strengthened (cf. I n. 262) at the expense of the dynastic features: and a certain bureaucraticization of the high nobility, that is, the bestowal by the Crown upon its members of often hereditary office-fiefs, was a symptom of this process. The Georgian nobility in the United Kingdom of Georgia (Iberia and Abasgia) continued the pattern of the formative centuries by remaining divided into the dynastic layer of the princes and the non-dynastic one of the nobles or gentry. The former, however, now included also the dukes, who had grown in number in the Golden Age and not all of whom were of princely birth. The Crown, committed to the 'monogenetic' theory of sovereignty (I § 2), affected to recognize the existence of this upper stratum from a purely feudalist point of view. This point of view found its expression in the term *didebul* ('grandee,' 'magnate'), which was applied to it in the official documents of the Golden Age. From the Crown's point of view, at least, all the Georgian Princes had become 'mediatized.' Nevertheless, the dynastic point of view continued its parallel existence and was expressed by another term applied to the same stratum, — *l'avad*, a congener of *ml'avar* ('prince') then as yet in the phase of the Latin *princeps*. This ascendancy of the feudal over the dynastic, of the Crown over the aristocracy, was not lasting, however. In the course of the fifteenth century, the United Kingdom of Georgia was divided between branches of the royal house into three kingdoms, of Georgia (Iberia), Kakhetia, and Imeretia (Abasgia-Lazica-Colchis). In addition, five Western duchies, Abkhazia, Guria, Meschia (Same'xe), Mingrelia, and Suania, became independent princely States, and their dynasties — the Houses of Šarvašije, Dadian-Gurieli, Jaqeli, Dadiani, and Gelovani — became suzerain, as it were grand-duchally, over the other princes whose domains lay in these former duchies (cf. a similar development in Armenia: II § 4). This weakening division of the once-united Georgian Monarchy led to that of many princely houses. Here feudalism proved, unexpectedly, to be partially of service to dynasticism, for the division of the communally owned allods could be prevented in those cases when a given *fief-seigneurie* had become conjoined with a by nature indivisible office-fief, with which a princely house may have been invested. However, some office-fiefs (like that of Protonotary of Georgia or, at a later date, that of Duke in Guria) themselves with time became collegial in character; whereas others were conferred after the divisions of princely houses had taken place. As a result, among the many 'divided' dynasties, there were also a few 'undivided' ones, and these enjoyed a precedence over the others. The Silver Age that followed saw, however, not only a reassertion of dynasticism, which modern historians (like, e.g., Gvritišvili) fancy to have been its birth, but also the Crown's attempts to consolidate its own position. The Crown indeed had lost much of its power and princely independence had increased; the dukedoms, save a few, fell into abeyance or were absorbed into princely States (*sal'avado*), and the term *l'avad*, replacing *ml'avar*, became the fixed expression of the princely status. To designate the 'undivided' princes, the term *didebul l'avad* was now often used, meaning that a particular prince was also the holder of a great office-fief: — the fact, precisely, which had ensured the indivisibility of his State. Yet, at the same time, the eighteenth-century Kings of Georgia, first of the Muxranian and then of the Kakhetian line, attempted to strengthen their power, and this meant a new reduction of the princes. It was possibly

as an expression of this trend that the Code of the Muxranian King Vaxtang VI (1711-1723) divided the princes into three categories, to the first of which belonged the heads of the 'undivided' houses; to the second, the cadets of these houses; and to the third, all the 'divided' houses (Lang, *Georg. Monarchy* 40, is inexact when writing 'Princes of the second class, and also [*italics mine*] subordinate members of clans [*sic*] headed by grandees of the first class'). This division, however, was as ephemeral as it was artificial: it concerned only Iberia and did not survive the fall of the Muxranian line. The Kakhetian line that followed, uniting between 1744 and 1762, Iberia and Kakhetia, proved more energetic still; and there were definite attempts to curb the independence of the nobility. In 1783, in an attempt to counterbalance the pressure of Islam, Georgia-Kakhetia accepted the suzerainty of the Russian Empire, in the treaty of Georgievsk, signed on 24 July (o. s.) of that year by Heraclius II, King of Georgia, and Catherine II, Empress of Russia. Article 9 of this treaty established the parity between the Georgian Princes and those of the Russian Empire, as well as between the non-princely nobles of the two States. And in an appendix attached to this treaty were inscribed the princely and noble houses of the Kingdoms of Georgia and of Kakhetia. Upon the annexation of these kingdoms by Russia, following the death on 28 December 1800 (o.s.) of King George XIII, the Georgian nobility was incorporated into that of the Empire. The same was repeated following the Russian annexations of the Kingdom of Imeretia (1810) and of the Principalities of Guria (1829), Suania (1858), Abkhazia (1864), and Mingrelia (1867). The Princes of Meschia had long fallen into the Ottoman orbit and disappeared from history. See for all this my *Nob. géorg.*; Gvritišvili, *P'edol. Sak'art'.*; Lang, *Georg. Monarchy*.

The following is a list of the princely houses of the Georgians, as of the moment of the annexations of the Georgian States by the Russian Empire and of the incorporation of these houses in the princely nobility of that empire. The sources cited here are the official *Spiski*, the semi-official AdG and its present-day continuation GHA, and Dolgorukov, *Ross. rod. kniga*, which, for all its inadequacies, is the sole comprehensive historico-genealogical work for the Russian Empire; they are not cited in support of the brief historical notices given here, the bibliography for which would be far too extensive for this Appendix. The Crown offices indicated in these notices are hereditary. In this list, the royal Bagratids come first; next, the dynasties which are composed of a number of branches, each a princely house; then, single houses, many of which are probably also branches of other dynasties, though it is impossible to establish this; and, finally, a few families of non-dynastic origin which were, in violation of the nature of Caucasian society, raised to the princely status by the autocratic last Kings of Georgia. The names of the 'undivided' houses are followed by an asterisk (*); and the letter (T) marks those inscribed in the appendix to the Treaty of 1783. Except in the case of the Houses of Agiašvili, Iašvili, and Mak'simenišvili, all the Georgian names ending in *-a-švili* and *i-švili* exchanged these endings for their Russian equivalent *-ov*. New name forms that were introduced in the Russian Empire are preceded by an asterisk (*). The dates in parentheses are those of the imperial Russian recognition or confirmation (the two terms are in effect synonymous) of the princely dignity of the Empire, which were subsequent to the annexations; there could be no equivalent Georgian documents: the Georgian Princes being immemorial — *princes de race* or *Ur-*

fürsten — their status was anterior to and independent of any royal act, although there are numerous royal documents testifying to that status, like, precisely, the Treaty of 1783. Dates of creation or of inscription in that same Treaty are given after the non-dynastic houses.

The Bagratid Dynasty [§ 12.9] was divided into: the three royal houses of Georgia (Iberia), Kakhetia, and Imeretia. The House of Georgia (i.e., the branch of Georgia-Muxrani, dispossessed in 1726, an offshoot of the royal house extinct in 1658) formed: the branches of the Princes *of Georgia ('the Elder House' 1833), of the Princes *Bagration (1803), and of the Princes of Muxrani* (T), Mayors of the Palace of Georgia and High Constables of Upper Iberia, later *Bagration of Muxrani (1825, 1850). The House of Kakhetia and (after 1744) Georgia (dispossessed in 1800/1801) formed: the branch of the Princes *of Georgia ('the Younger House' 1859) and the collateral branch of the Princes Bagration-Davit'išvili (T 1850). The House of Imeretia formed: the branches of the Princes *Bagration (1850, 1863), *Bagration of Imeretia (1876), *of Imeretia (1860), and *Bagration-Davidov (1849). The Imeretian house of Mik'elaje (1850) and the Gurian house of T'avdgirije (1850) appear to be of Bagratid — the former of Taronite-Bagratid — origin. — *Spiski* 10-11, 12, 31-32, 34, 44, 60-62, 80; *Dolg.* II 5-14, III 3, 5-9, 17-22, 458-459, 471-474; *GHA* (f) 3 (1955) 247 (cf. IV Excursus A n. 58).

The Anč'abad Dynasty [§ 26.2] formed: the Abkhazian line of the Princes Anč'abaje (1903), the Kakhetian line of the Princes Anč'abaje-Abxazi (T 1826, 1850), and the Iberian line of the Princes Mač'abeli (T 1826, 1850). — *Spiski* 3-4, 57; *Dolg.* III 480-481.

The Č'xetid Dynasty, known in West Georgia from the tenth century, formed the line of the Princes Č'xeije (T 1850, 1861), that of the Dukes of Rača, later Princes *Eristov of Rača (1850) — both in Imeretia, — and the Abkhazo-Mingrelian line of the Princes Č'xotua (1901). — *Spiski* 100, 108; *Dolg.* III 467, 62-63; *AdG* 1939 (646) ff; *GHA* (f) 2 (1953) 457, 3 (1955) 491.

The Dadian-Gurieli Dynasty, known in West Georgia from the tenth century and deriving its name from the castle of Dadi, was enfeoffed of the Duchies of Suania (c. 1072), Mingrelia — and Grand Masters of Ceremonies of Georgia — (c. 1184), and Guria — and Masters of the Stirrup of Georgia — (1243) and formed: the First Dynasty of Mingrelia, extinct into the House of Dadiani-Č'ik'ovani and as the Princes *Dadianov (1801, 1850, 1859); and the Princes of Guria, later Princes Gurieli — Kings of Imeretia in 1681-1716 — (1843, 1850). — *Spiski* 34; *Dolg.* II 14-15; III 22, 460-461.

The Dadiani-Č'ik'ovani Dynasty of the Suanian successors (from 1694) of the House of Dadian-Gurieli, as the Second Dynasty of Mingrelia and forming the lines of the Princes of Mingrelia (1867), Dadiani (1867), and (collateral) Č'ik'ovani (1903) — *Spiski* 35, 62; *Dolg.* III 22-23, 462-464; *AdG* 1877 (276) ff.

The Donauri Dynasty, to which belonged two Princes of Kakhetia in the ninth century, formed: the line of the Princes Vač'naje (T 1826, 1850) and, probably, that of the Princes Babadišvili (Beburišvili) (T 1850), both in Kakhetia. — *Spiski* 20-22, 10.

The Irubak'id Dynasty, appearing in Kakhetia from Daghestan in 1320 and tracing its history back to 1100, formed the lines of the Princes Č'olaqašvili* (T 1825, 1827, 1850) and of the Princes Maqašvili (T 1850), jointly Mayors

of the Palace of Kakhetia. — *Spiski* 96, 99, 54-55; *Dolg.* III 477-478, 62-63; *GHA* (f) 4 (1956) 426-427.

The K'venip'neveli Dynasty, traditionally descended from the Kings of Alania (Oset'i) in the sixth century and deriving its name from the castle of Lower (K'veni) Ip'nevi, formed: the line of the Dukes of K'sani* (T), later Princes *Eristov of Ksani (1850), and that of the Princes Ratišvili (T 1826) — both in Iberia, — as well as the First Dynasty of Suania, later Princes Gelovani. — *Spiski* 107-108, 73-74; *Dolg.* III 464-467, 62-63, 471; cf. *supra* § 26.5.

The Mamikonid Dynasty [§ 12.18] formed two lines, the T'umanid, of the Princes T'umanišvili (T 1826, 1850) Protonotaries of Georgia, and the Liparitid, enfeoffed of the High Constableness of Georgia and the Duchies of T'rialet'i, Samšvilde, Xunani, Lower Iberia, and Margvet'i, and subdivided into: the Imeretian branch of the Princes Kaxaberije-Č'iĵavaje (1850) and possibly the Kakhetian branch of the Princes Čavčavaje (T 1825, 1828, 1829, 1850), the Imeretian branch of the Princes Abašije (T 1825, 1850) — Kings of Imeretia in 1702-1707, — the three Iberian branches of the Princes Barat'ašvili (T 1826, 1827, 1829, 1850), Salaġašvili (T 1850), and Ĵambakur(ian)-Orbeliani* (T 1825, 1826, 1829, 1850), High Constables of Somxit'i, as well as, possibly, the Gurian branch of the Princes Gugunava (1850). — *Spiski* 83-85, 98, 94-95, 1-2, 12-14, 79, 36-37, 67-68, 32; *Dolg.* III 483, 467-468, 475-476, 62-63; *AdG* 1939 (648) ff.; *GHA* (f) 2 (1953) 471.

The Pahlavid Dynasty [§ 12.16] formed three lines, P'alanvandid, Mxargrjelijid, and Sumbatid (T 1816, 1850). The first was subdivided into the branches of the Princes P'alavandišvili (T 1826, 1850) and the Princes Amerejibi (T 1824, 1850), Grand Chamberlains (*amir-efib*) of Georgia. The second, into the branches of the Princes Mxargrjeli-Argut'ašvili (T), later *Argutinskij-Dolgorukij (1800, 1850), the Princes P'avlenišvili (T 1850), and the Princes Maġalašvili (Maġalaje) (T 1825), Mayors of the Palace of the Church of Iberia. All the subdivisions of this dynasty were in Iberia. — *Spiski* 69-70, 7, 8-9, 69, 54, 79-80; *Dolg.* III 481, 479.

The P'anaskerteli Dynasty, known in Upper Iberia from the twelfth century and deriving its name from the castle of P'anaskert, formed two lines, of the Princes Č'ic'išvili* (T), later *Cicianov (1800, 1825, 1850), High Constables of Tiflis, and the Princes Avališvili (T 1826, 1850), in Iberia and Kakhetia, respectively. — *Spiski* 91-93, 4-5; *Dolg.* III 45-46, 62-63, 479.

The Šamxalid Dynasty of Tarki, in Daghestan, traced its history back to the Arab conquest in the eighth century. Descent from it was claimed by the Second Dynasty of Suania, later Princes Dadešk'eliani (1857), and the Iberian Saakids forming: the branch of the Princes T'arxan-Mouravišvili (T 1826, 1850) and that of the Princes Saakaje (T 1881). — *Spiski* 81-82, 75; *Dolg.* III 22, 482-483; cf. *supra* § 26.5.

The Šarvašid Dynasty, descended from Šaddādids of Ani or, possibly from the Kings of Sharvān, appeared in West Georgia in the twelfth century, was enfeoffed of the Duchy of Abkhazia (c. 1184), and formed: the line of the Princes of Abkhazia, later Princes Šervašije (1834, 1875), and the collateral branch of the Princes Inalipa (1902); the Iberian line of the Princes Šervašije (T 1828); and the line of the Dukes in Guria, later Princes *Eristov of Guria (1850), as well as, apparently, its collateral branch of the Princes Mak'simenišvili (1850). — *Spiski* 103, 104, 106; *Dolg.* III 56-57, 62-63; cf. *supra* § 26.2.

The Zedginid Dynasty, known in Upper Iberia from the end of the fourteenth century and tracing its history back to the eleventh, formed: the Iberian lines of the Princes Amilaxvari* (T 1825, 1850), Masters of the Horse (*amilazor*) of Georgia and High Constables of Gori, and of the Princes Xidirbekišvili (T 1850), and the Kakhetian lines of the Princes Guramišvili (T 1826, 1850) and of the Princes T'usišvili (T 1850). The West Georgian Princes Emuxvari (1903) appear to be another line of this dynasty. — *Spiski* 6, 89, 33, 85; *Dolg.* III 462-470, 62-63, 484; *AdG* 1930 (337) ff.

The remaining houses, which now follow, constitute each a single dynasty:

In the Kingdom of Georgia

The Princes Amatuni (§ 12.3) confirmed in Georgia 1784 (1826). — *Spiski* 5-6.

The Dukes of Aragvi*, of the Alanian dynasty of Sidamona established in Georgia in the fifteenth century, later Princes *Eristov of Aragvi (1828) and *Sidamon-Eristov (T 1826). — *Spiski* 78-79, 106; *Dolg.* III 60, 61-62.

The Princes Begt'abegišvili (T 1826, 1850) removed to Georgia from Armenia in the seventeenth century. — *Spiski* 16-17; *Dolg.* III 479-480.

The Princes Diasamije (T 1850) removed to Iberia from Upper Iberia at the end of the sixteenth century. — *Spiski* 40.

The Princes Javaxišvili (T 1850) of the Armeno-Georgian dynasty of Garm-rakeli or Gamrekeli of T'ori, known from the tenth century. — *Spiski* 36; *Dolg.* III 486.

The Princes Šalikašvili (T 1826), of the Upper Iberian house of Ročikašvili, removed to Iberia at the end of the sixteenth century. — *Spiski* 100-101; *AdG* 1934 (437) ff.

The Dukes (*melik*'-s) of Somxit'i* (T), later Princes *Melikov (1816, 1824, 1850), of an Armenian house known from the fourteenth century. — *Spiski* 58; *Dolg.* III 474, 62-63.

The Princes T'ak't'ak'išvili (T'ak't'ak'ije) (T 1826) removed to Iberia from Upper Iberia at the end of the sixteenth century. — *Spiski* 80-81.

The Princes Xerxeulije (T 1825, 1850, 1864), presumably descended from the House of Xorxoruni (§ 12.17), are known from the twelfth century. — *Spiski* 88; *Dolg.* III 483-484.

In the Kingdom of Kakhetia

The Princes Andronikašvili (Endronikašvili)* (T 1826, 1850), High Constables of K'iziql and descendants of Alexius Comnenus, natural son of the Emperor of the East Andronicus I (1183-1185) by his cousin Theodora Comnena, Dowager Queen of Jerusalem. — *Spiski* 18, 105-106; *Dolg.* III 470-471, 62-63.

The Princes Čerk'ezi (T 1829, 1850), descended from the Circassian Princes of Great Qabarda, settled in Kakhetia in the seventeenth century. — *Spiski* 97-98.

The Princes Gurgenije (T 1850). — *Spiski* 33.

The Princes Jorjaje (T 1829, 1850), traditionally of Albanian origin, settled in Upper Iberia in the tenth century and removed to Kakhetia in 1466. — *Spiski* 39.

The Princes K'obulašvili (K'obuliije) (T 1826), possibly the family of K'obul, High Constable of Iberia (637/642), to which belonged a ninth-century Prince

of Kakhetia, removed to Upper Iberia, returning to Kakhetia in the sixteenth century. — *Spiski* 46.

The Princes Qaralašvili (T 1850). — *Spiski* 45.

The Princes Robitašvili (T 1850). — *Spiski* 74.

The Princes Rusišvili (T 1850). — *Spiski* 75.

The Princes Saginašvili (T 1850, 1856). — *Spiski* 76.

The Princes Vaxvaxišvili (T 1825, 1850), Grand Masters of the Hunt of Kakhetia originally in Upper Iberia, where they were known from the twelfth century. — *Spiski* 19-20.

The Princes Ximšiašvili (T 1850), descended from the Abazads of Marili, known from the eleventh century. — *Spiski* 90.

In the Kingdom of Imeretia and the Principalities

The Princes Agiašvili (1850), joint-High Constables of Imeretia, known from the twelfth century. — *Spiski* 5.

The Princes Ap'ak'ije (1903).

The Princes Ceret'eli (1850), first joint-High Constables and Grand Treasurers of Imeretia, descended from the Alanian dynasty of Caadari, established in West Georgia in 1395. — *Spiski* 91; *Dolg.* III 476-477, 92-93.

The Princes Č'ič'ua (1903).

The Princes Culuk'ije (1850), joint-High Constables of Imeretia, known from 1451. — *Spiski* 93-94.

The Princes Dgebuaje (1903).

The Princes Iašvili, later *Jašvil' (1850), whose surname has been connected with the name Aea. — *Spiski* 110.

The Princes Jap'arije (1850), known from c. 1400. — *Spiski* 39.

The Princes Lort'k'ip'anije (1850), known from 1412/1442. — *Spiski* 58.

The Princes Mačutaje (1850), Mayors of the Palace of Guria, known from 1412/1442. — *Spiski* 58.

The Princes Maršania (1903) of Cebelda in Abkhazia.

The Princes Mxeije (1850), formerly Mxec'ije, known from the eleventh century. — *Spiski* 63.

The Princes Nakašije (1850), Receivers of Ambassadors of Guria. — *Spiski* 63-64; *Dolg.* III 62-63.

The Princes Nižeraje (1850, 1862), Great Pantlers of Imeretia. — *Spiski* 64-65.

The Princes P'agava (1903).

The Princes Qip'iani (1850.) — *Spiski* 46.

Non-Dynastic Houses

The Princes Abamelik', created (in Iberia) 1794, 1800 (1823, 1850). — *Spiski* 1, 4.

The Princes Bebut'ašvili (T in Iberia) (1826), Grand Masters of the Hunt of Georgia and Armenian Ethnarchs of Tiflis, known from the early seventeenth century. — *Spiski* 15-16.

The Princes Jandieri, created (in Kakhetia) 1628 (T 1829, 1850). — *Spiski* 38.

The Princes Leonije, created (in Kakhetia) (T 1825, 1850). — *Spiski* 50.

The Princes Vezirišvili (T in Iberia) (1828). — *Spiski* 22.

The Princes Xoġaminasišvili, confirmed (in Iberia) 1775 (1857). — *Spiski* 90.

Many of these houses have since become extinct. T contains a few names that designated short-lived offshoots of other houses. Several Georgian noble families, e.g., Kavkasije, Manvelov, Nazarov, Turkistanov, were recognized as princely in the Russian Empire. The above 56 dynasties form (the first 15 being divided between them into 57 branches) 97 houses. They are the result of the concentration, caused by the vicissitudes of history, of the surviving dynastic régime of entire Caucasia on the comparatively restricted, and after the Middle Ages constantly shrinking, territory of the three Georgian kingdoms. Accordingly, e.g., about one-fifth (10) of the dynasties, forming about one-third (32) of the houses, are *émigré* arrivals from Great Armenia. It must be borne in mind, too, that these were the *only titled houses* of Georgia; below them, was the untitled nobility, or gentry. Once again, the Germanic parallel may be invoked here. There were, before 1918, 17 Austrian and German sovereign dynasties (counting the Holsteins and the Oldenburgs as one), which formed between them 28 houses. Then, the mediatized nobility of the former Holy Roman Empire numbered, in the nineteenth century, some 57 families, forming between them some 97 branches of different names (homonymous branches are not here counted as separate) bearing the ducal, princely, landgraval, or comital titles. Finally, the contemporaneous Austro-German non-sovereign and non-mediatized princely families numbered (exclusive of the morganatic offshoots) some 54 and formed between them (inclusive of the morganatic offshoots) some 67 houses. Thus, the Germanic princely class was composed of some 128 families, forming some 192 houses. Beneath it, but above the untitled nobility, was the considerably — at least eight or nine times — more numerous layer of the comital and baronial families, which had no counterpart in Georgian society. In this connexion, the 2,381 Spanish titles (as in 1947), 371 of them grandeeships; the British peerage numbering well over 1,000; and some 200 heteronymous branches, into which the Rurikids of Russia have in the course of history been divided, may also be recalled here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TITLES OF PERIODICALS, SERIAL PUBLICATIONS, COLLECTIONS, GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE, AND ENCYCLOPAEDIAS.

A	= Queen Anne Codex of the Georgian Annals [Intro. 21].
AB	= <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels).
ABibl	= <i>Analecta biblica</i> (Rome).
AdG	= <i>Almanach de Gotha</i> (Gotha).
AG	= <i>L'Ancienne Géorgie</i> / <i>Jveli Sak'art'velo</i> (Tiflis).
AGWG	= <i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F.</i> (Berlin).
AIPhH	= <i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Brussels).
Aktg	= <i>Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoj Arxeografičeskoj Kommissieju</i> (Tiflis).
AM	= <i>Azgayin Matenadaran</i> / <i>Nationalbibliothek</i> (Vienna).
AQ	= <i>Armenian Quarterly</i> (New York).
Ar	= <i>Armeniaca</i> (Leipzig).
At	= <i>Ararat</i> (Ejmiadzin).
B	= <i>Byzantion</i> (Brussels).
BA	= <i>Bulletin arménologique</i> (<i>Mélanges de l'Université de Saint Joseph</i>) (Beyrouth).
BAR	= <i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> (Paris).
BASP	= <i>British Academy, Supplementary Papers</i> (London).
BIM	= <i>Bulletin de l'Institut Marr</i> / <i>Enis, istorisa da mater. kulturis institutl akad. N. Marisa sax.</i> (Tiflis).
BK	= <i>Bedi Kart(h)lisa. Revue de kart(h)velologie</i> (Paris).
BM	= <i>Banber Matenadaran</i> (Erivan).
BO	= <i>Biblica et orientalia</i> (Rome).
BSE	= <i>Bol'shaja sovetskaja enciklopedija</i> .
BSOAS	= <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London).
BVSGW	= <i>Berichte über Verhandlungen der königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften</i> (Leipzig).
Ca	= <i>Eraĭ Čalašvili Codex of the Georgian Annals</i> [Intro. 21].
Ca	= <i>Caucasica</i> (Leipzig).
CAH	= <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> (Cambridge).
CBMIB	= <i>Corpus bruxellense historiae byzantinae</i> (Brussels).
CGFAL	= <i>Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library</i> (Lisbon).
CHA	= <i>Collection d'historiens arméniens</i> (St Petersburg).
CHAMA	= <i>Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie</i> (Paris).
CHR	= <i>The Catholic Historical Review</i> (Washington).
CMH	= <i>Cambridge Medieval History</i> (Cambridge).
COS	= <i>Cambridge Oriental Series</i> (London).
CPEG	= <i>Corpus poetarum epicorum graecorum</i> (Leipzig).
GPh	= <i>Classical Philology</i> (Chicago).

- CSHB = *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn).
- CSCO = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* (Louvain).
- D = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig).
- DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.
- DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*.
- DuCange, *Gl.gr.* = C. du F. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyons 1688).
- EB = *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.
- EESE = *Études d'ethnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie* (Paris).
- EHR = *English Historical Review* (London).
- EI = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
- ES = *Ėnciklopedičeskij Slovar'*.
- FHG = *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* (Paris).
- G = *Geographica* (London).
- GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig).
- GHA(f) = *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels: Fürstliche Häuser* (Glücksburg).
- HA = *Handes Amsorya* (Vienna).
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- HM = *Histoire du monde, publiée sous la direction de M. E. Cavaignac* (Paris).
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- HT = *Hrataraku'iwn T'ip'lisi ėnk. Hayerĕn grk'ert hrat.* (St Petersburg).
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- IANA = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk Armjanskogo SSB* (Erevan).
- IANs = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
- IGA = *Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj Akademii istorii material'noj kul'tury* (Leningrad/Moscow).
- IAN = *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* (St Petersburg).
- IKO = *Izvestija Kavkazskago Otdjelenija Imp. Moskovskago Arzeologičeskago Obščestva* (Moscow).
- IOA = *Izvestija Obščestva obsledovanija i izučenija Azerbajdžana* (Baku).
- IZ = *Istoričeskije Zapiski* (Moscow).
- JA = *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
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- KGE = *Kratkaja geografičeskaja ėnciklopedija*.
- KSINA = *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
- L = *Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America* (Baltimore).
- LCL = *The Loeb Classical Library* (London/New York).
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 M = *Queen Mary Codex of the Georgian Annals* [Introd. 21].
 MA = *Mélanges asiastiques* (St Petersburg).
 MAK = *Materialy po arzeologii Kavkaza* (Moscow).
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 MB = *Le monde byzantin (L'évolution de l'humanité)* (Paris).
 MBE = *Monumenta biblica et ecclesiastica* (Rome).
 MDGKO = *Morgenland. Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens* (Berlin).
 MDO = *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin).
 MGT = *Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok* (Budapest).
 Mn = *Memnon. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte des alten Orients* (Berlin/Stuttgart/Leipzig).
 Mo = *Moambe* (Tiflis).
 MSKI = *Masalebi Sak'art'velos da Kavkasiis istoriidan* (Tiflis).
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 NTS = *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* (Oslo).
 OCa = *Orientalia Christiana* (Rome).
 OCs = *Oriens christianus* (Leipzig).
 P = *P'orj* (Tiflis).
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 REA = *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris).
 REAnc = *Revue des études anciennes* (Bordeaux).
 RHA = *Revue hittite et asianique* (Paris).
 RHC(a) = *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens*.
 RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris).
 RSJB = *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin* (Paris).
 S = *Syria* (Paris).
 SAG = *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte* (Vienna).
 SBE = *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica* (Oxford).
 SH = *Sop'er k' Haykakank'* (Venice).
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- TRAGF = *Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii* (St Petersburg).
- TUAL = *Texte und Untersuchungen der altarmenischen Literatur* (Vienna).
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- Vo = *Vostok* (Leningrad).
- VV = *Vizantijskij vremennik* / *Βυζαντινὰ Χρονικά* (St Petersburg, later Moscow/Leningrad).
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- ZIV = *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow/Leningrad).
- ZMNP = *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvješčenija* (St Petersburg).
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II. LITERARY SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

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 Arrian, *Peripl.*

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 Cassius Dio

 Cedrenus

 Chron. pasch.
 Cicero, *Ep. ad fam.*
 Cod. Just.

 Cod. Theod.

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